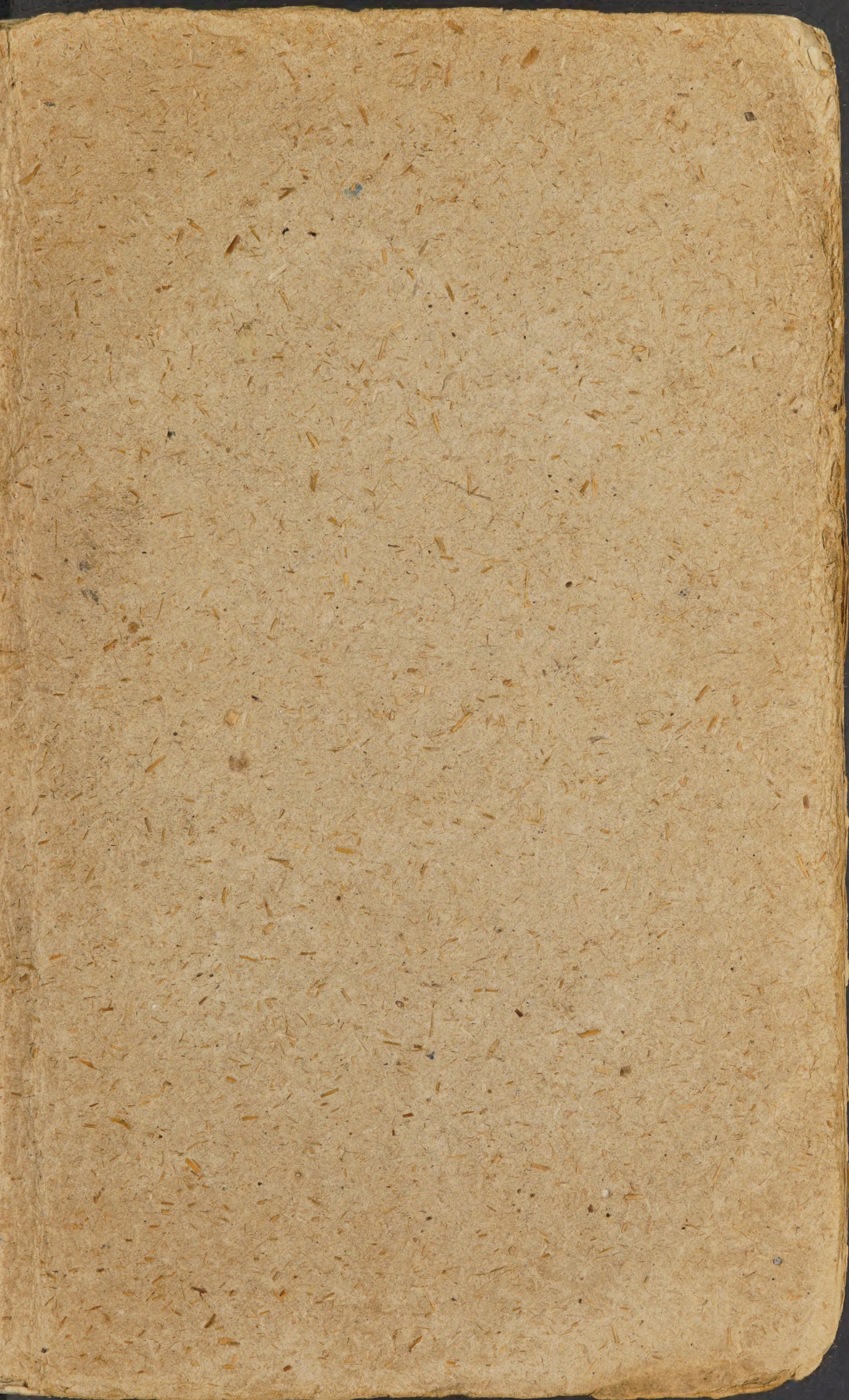




Bryan's
Observations
on
Rowley's
Poems.







4A2102

981

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY;

IN WHICH

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THOSE POEMS
IS ASCERTAINED.

BY JACOB BRYANT, Esq.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. PAYNE and SON, at the Mews Gate;
T. CADELL, and P. ELMSLY, in the Strand.

M.DCC.LXXXI.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

P O E M S

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY

IN A LETTER

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THESE POEMS
IS ASCERTAINED

BY JACOB BRANT, Esq.

Printed by T. BATES and Son, 24, Abchurch Lane,

T. CASSELL and W. F. BARNARD, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXXII.

THE PREFACE.

I Little imagined, when I undertook the present work, that it would be carried to the length, to which I see it extended. This to me is matter of some concern; as the subject, from its nature, may appear to many very tedious, and unentertaining. It was my original purpose not to engage in the external evidence, with which I have since found the history of the Poems to be amply supported; but to rest my proofs intirely upon the internal. The encouragement of some very excellent friends, joined to their kind importunities, led me at last to engage in this new investigation. Induced by the lights, which they held out to me, I applied at the fountain head; and obtained my intelligence from those, through whom only it could be satisfactorily derived. This was from the mother, the sister, and the principal friends and acquaintance of the young man, through whose hands the Poems have been transmitted to us,

The great point in view has been, to prove the originality and antiquity of the Poems in question. The evidence in their favour is manifold; and if I am not greatly deceived, affords many convincing proofs of their genuine antiquity: also of the
2 person,

person, by whom they were composed. I flatter myself, that this evidence will appear equally convincing to the Reader. It was my intention to have given an Historical Glossary to many of the most uncommon and obsolete terms ; and I had carried it on to no small amount : but the extent of my work would not permit me to compleat my purpose. Indeed it would have been in a manner unnecessary : as this omission on my side, and, I trust, many others, will be made up to the Public by a more able hand.

ERRATA. PART FIRST.

Page 46, l. 17, for	shemrynge	—	read	drierie
50, Notes, —	Wigoniens	—	—	Wigorniens.
51, l. 9, —	hunc	—	—	hanc
62, l. 9, —	they twine	—	—	he twines
74, l. 2, —	945	—	—	345
114, l. 8, —	should find	—	—	thou'lt find
117, l. 7, —	Wharton	—	—	Warton ; <i>passim</i>
123, l. 20, —	Guillialm Neubrigeus	—	—	Guillielm Neubrigens
124, l. 12, —	run	—	—	ran
131, l. 14, —	others	—	—	other
190, l. 21, —	interca	—	—	interca
194, l. 24, —	Celdmonde	—	—	Celmonde
202, l. 10, —	sebillam	—	—	Sebillam
203, Note, —	Leland, <i>dele.</i>			
205, l. 5, after	Gloucestershire,	—	add	and of Somersetshire.
209, l. 3, for	Brompton	—	read	Bromton
219, l. 17, —	Aldan	—	—	Aidan
224, Notes, —	Polychratice	—	—	Polycratice
231, l. 6, —	Harrold's	—	—	Harold's
233, l. 1, —	dicti sunt	—	—	dicti sunt :
238, l. 19, —	Noſtla	—	—	Noſtla
239, Notes, —	Notlely	—	—	Notely
241, l. 2, —	Dearmarch	—	—	Dearmach
247, l. 16, —	in, <i>dele.</i>			
270, l. 19, —	Joyous	—	—	Joying
271, l. 15, —	ſecundus	—	—	ſecundus
280, l. 24, —	Cefauriens	—	—	Cafauriens
289, l. 14, —	Lhoyd	—	—	Lhuyd
299, l. 1, —	Abbat	—	—	Abbot
300, l. ult. —	Sa. Clement's Danes,			<i>dele.</i>

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the first positions, which I must lay down, is, that these poems were written in a provincial dialect: according to the idiom of the people, in whose county the author resided, and was probably born. It is indeed my opinion, that most of those, who wrote at a distance from the capital, copied more or less the peculiarities of the province, to which they originally belonged. Caxton was the most copious writer of his time: and he lived in the very age of Rowley: and he says expressly, that he wrote the language of his country: which was the weald of Kent. His peculiarities, he says, were so glaring, that he was often times censured upon that head, and particularly by the duchess of Burgundy, the king's sister. Of this

B ... he

he takes notice in his preface to the Siege of Troy : a book, which he both translated, and printed abroad.—*On a tyme it fortuneth, that the ryght excellent and right vertuous prynces, my right redoubted ladye, (sister unto my soveraign Lord, the King of Englund and Fraunce) my Lady Mergaret by the grace of God, duchesse of Burgoine, &c. &c.—sent for me to speke with her good grace of dyverse maters : among the which I let her highness have knowledge of the foresaid beginninge of this worke : which anon commanded me to shew of the sayd v or vi quayers to her said grace. And when she had seen hem, anon she found a defaute in myne Englyshe, which she commanded me to amend.—In Fraunce was I never ; and was borne and lerned myne Englishe in Kent in the weald : were I doubt not is spoken as brode and rude Englishe, as in any place of Eng-land*.* History of Troy by Caxton. He

* Copied from Ames, in his History of Printing, p. 2, 3. For the orthography I cannot answer, as I had not an opportunity of applying to the original. It may not be quite exact ; but the purport of the passage is the same.

speaks to the same purpose in a preface to another treatise †. *Fayn wolde I satysfye every man : and so to doo toke an olde boke and redde tberin : and certaynly the Englysshe was so rude and brood, that I coude not wele understande it. And also my lorde abbot of Westmynster ded do shewe to me late certayn evydences wryton in olde englysshe for to reduce it in to our englysshe now usid : and certaynly it was wretton in such wyse, that it was more lyke to dutche than englysshe. I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly our langage now used varyeth from that which was used and spoken, whan I was borne. For we englysshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge : waxynge one season and waneth and dyscreaseth another season. And that comyn englysshe, that is spoken in one shyre, varyeth from another. —loo, what sholde a man in thysse dayes now wryte ? —certaynly it is hard to playse every man, because of dyversite and chaunge*

† Taken from the preface of a boke intytuled *Eneydos*, translated from the French, and printed by W. Caxton, anno 1490.

of langage. For in these dayes every man, that is in any reputacyon in his countre, wyll utter his commynycacyon, and maters in such maners and termes, that few men shall understonde theym. And som honest and grete clerkes have ben wyth me, and desired me to wryte the moste curyous termes, that I coude fynde: and thus betwene playn, rude and curyous I stande abasshed. Preface to the boke intytuled Eneydos: printed by Caxton, anno 1490. In these extracts we have a clear account of the dialects of those times; and of the variety of terms, that prevailed in the days of Caxton, which were precisely the days of Rowley.

The like peculiarities, of which the writer above makes mention, are to be found still earlier in the author of *Pierce Plowman*. He has a great number of words, which appear to have been peculiar to the county, where he first drew his breath. Many in after times, who did not entirely devote themselves to the manner of speech of their province; yet did not totally depart from it: and continually introduced words not in common use.

use. This is apparent from Spencer, especially in his *Shepherd's Calendar*. Indeed the whole of his diction is more ancient than the times in which he lived. What are we to think of the *stithy*, the *molewarp*; and the *weird sisters* in Shakespeare? These, and many others, which might be produced, were not words in general use; and can only be found in the dialects, which he copied. The translation of the *Æneïs* by Gawin Douglas, the learned bishop of Dunkeld, is intirely provincial: and contains in it the noblest and most curious remains of the ancient Saxon language. And as much of the same is to be found in the poems attributed to Rowley; there is no book, that can be applied to, preferable to this, in order to authenticate those writings, either in respect to orthography or stile.

Writers who have treated of this island, take notice not only of three languages essentially different; but also of three particular dialects, which seem to have prevailed in South Britain from the first settling here of the Saxons. We have a cu-

rious account of this circumstance afforded us by the learned monk Trevisa : who wrote about the year 1365 ; and speaks in the following manner : *As it is knowen, how many maner of peple ben in this ilond, there ben also many langages and tongues : (by which he means English, Scotch, Welch, and the Flemish in Wales.) Also Englysshe men they had fro the begynnyng thre maner speches ; southerne, northerne, and myddel speche in the myddel of the londe ; as thie come of thre maner of people in Germania. * * * Hit semeth a grete wonder, that Englyssmen have so grede dyversyte in theyre owne langage in sowne and in spekyng of it, whiche is al in one ylond.* He adds afterwards, that these dialects did through intercourse in some degree assimilate, and became reciprocally more intelligible. *For men of the este with the men of the west acorde better in sownyng of theyr speche, than men of the northe with men of the south. Therefore it is, that men of Mercij, that ben of myddel Englonde, as it were partyners with the endes, understand better the side langages, northern, and southern, than northern & southern*

*southern understand eyther other. Alle the langages of the Northumbres, and specially at York, is so sharp, slytynge, frotynge, and unshape, that we sotherne men may unneth understand that * langage. He had before taken notice, that the Saxon language in all its parts had been altered : and this we may be assured was most observable near the metropolis. In many thynges the coun-trye langage is appayred : ffor somme use straunge wlaffyng, chyteryng, harrayng, gar-ryng, and grisbytyng. It may be difficult after so long an interval to ascertain what the variations were, which are intimated by these terms. Thus much is certain, that changes were continually introduced. But there was a variation still prior ; an original variation. We have a further confirmation of this from the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He takes notice that the Saxons, who came into Britain, were of three different parts of Germany, and not of the same family ; ða com þa menn of ðrum mæzðum Lepmanie, of*

* Higden's Polychronicon, printed by Caxton, 1482. L. i. C. 59. p. 68.

Eald-Seaxum : of Anglum : of Jotum, p. 12. He afterwards specifies in what part of the kingdom each division settled. Hence proceeded that original difference in speech, which is mentioned by Trevisa. We may therefore be assured, that the Saxon tongue in this island was never uniformly the same. It commenced with a difference of dialect; which has ever more or less prevailed. And those who wrote at a distance from the capital, followed the idiom of the province, to which they belonged.

Before the art of printing became of general use, it is scarcely possible to conceive, but that people must have written in dialects : for they had no standard, by which they could be regulated ; and if there had existed any thing of this nature in any particular place, it could not have been universally kept up, for want of that intercourse and correspondence, which are so essential to its influence and authority. The language of the metropolis is generally looked up to as the principal, by which all others are to be directed. For
it

it is esteemed the true standard, though it is as much a dialect, as any other ; and oftentimes more novel and heterogeneous. To this however our mode of speech, and of writing, is for the most part made subservient. But in the times, of which we are speaking, the capital was comparatively small ; and had not that great resort, which we find it to have at this day. All intercourse was attended with difficulties, which are now unknown ; and correspondence by these means was rendered very rare. Hence they had no universal canon, by which they could be governed ; nor any external helps, to which they could apply. The Bible, as soon as there was a version made of it, came in time to be universally read ; and has certainly conduced both to the improvement and stability of language. But in those times no such assistance could be obtained. Printed books there were none ; and manuscripts were very scarce, and those from different parts, and of different ages. The court and capital had undoubtedly a great influence over the people, who were in any degree

gree near them ; consequently those who were at the extremities of the island, were the most rude and barbarous in their diction ; not but that which we esteem in them barbarous and rude, was nothing more than their retaining a number of ancient terms, attended with a peculiarity of pronunciation, which might be as original as the terms themselves. As Rowley was of Somersetshire, it may be worth while to lay before the reader an account given of the dialects there used, as we find it afforded us by a learned person in his *Logonomia Anglica*. At inter omnes dialectos nulla cum occidentali æquam sapit barbariem : et maxime si rusticos audias in agro Somersettenfi. Dubitare enim quis facile possit, utrum Anglicè loquantur, an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam enim *antiquata* etiamnum retinent ; ut *sax* pro cultro : *nem* aut *nim*, accipe. Quædam sua pro Anglicis vocabulis obtrudunt ; ut *lax* pro parte : *toit* pro sedili : et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam usu ; quædam pronunciatione. *Logonomia Ang.* ab Alex. Gil. c. vi. p. 18.

There are vast collections of ancient poems preserved in the public repositories of this kingdom; many of which, from the specimens exhibited, may be perceived to be strongly tinged with a peculiarity of idiom. There are moreover two poets in particular, whose works have been published to the world, which seem manifestly to be written in a provincial dialect. In consequence of this they are observed to abound with words, which are either uncommon; or differently expressed: or else are taken in a different acceptation from that, in which they are admitted by people of other counties. The first of these is the author of the two poems called the Visions, and the Crede, of Pierce Plowman, of whom I have made mention before. He is said to have been named Robert Langland; and to have been born at Cleyberie, towards the lower part of Shropshire, at no great distance from the Malverne hills. He is supposed to have written about the year 1350, in the reign of king Edward the Third. The other poet is Robert of Gloucester, who

wrote

wrote in the reign of Edward the First ; and composed a chronicle of English history from the most early times. His language is very broad and coarse : and his poem abounds with many obsolete words, and with others, which though not uncommon, yet are differently modified : and the whole favours strongly of the county, of which he appears to have been a native. Such are the words—*abbe, have. adrencē, drowned. bray, break. bode, bad. bivel, befell. brogt, brought. fow, foes. fowe, few. chere, high. besowt, besought. hure, bear. hupe, hope. hexte, highest. lasfe, leste. meuth, month. row, rough. dawē, day. prou, proof. lowe, laugh. thog, thought. couwe, cold. drou, drew. reigh, right. sipes, ships. stel, stole. softren, sisters. vair, fair. velde, felled. vane, fain. vareth, fareth. vorst, frost. verbere, forbear. vyfs, fish. woke, week. werse, worse. wolde, wild. tueie, two. vife, five. werste, first. zonge, young. zate, yet. zelde, yield.* Other terms might be easily added to a great amount. But it may appear more strongly, if we produce some quotations
at

at full length. A villain, who has killed king Edmund, comes to Canute the Dane with the bloody knife, and tells him what he has done in his favour. He then adds :

Thervore understond the wel, and geld
mý mede blyve :

Vor ých abbe ýdo the more gode, than
alle the men alyve. P. 311. l. 19.

i. e.

*Therefore consider thee well, and yield
my reward forthwith,
For I have done thee more good, than all
the men alive.*

The king answers him very ironically in these words :

Thou seyft soth, quath the king ; thou
ast mucche ýdo vor me.

An ýchýlle wel thý mede geld bý the
treuthe ých ou to the.

Ychýlle make the heymon, bý tyme
ychabbe ýthogte,

That thou ne ssalt vor thý lýflod nevere
carye nogt.

B 7

i. e. Thou

i. e.

*Thou say'st sooth, quoth the king, thou
hast much done for me,*

*And I shall well thy meed yield, by the
truth I owe thee.*

*I shall make thee a high man, by time I
have thought,*

*That thou shalt not for thy livelihood
never care nought.*

He ordered him to be privately thrown into the Thames, and drowned.

There is a manuscript, to whose authority I shall sometimes have recourse; which belongs to the library of King's College in Cambridge. It seems to be written in the provincial dialect of one of the western counties, and is in many respects similar to that of *Pierce Plowman*. The subject of the poem is the history of William, a royal foundling, and of werwolf, by whom he was preserved. By a werwolf is meant a wizard wolf, the *λυκανθρωπος* of the ancients: which was supposed to have been a wolf so changed from a man: and to be gifted with human intellect.

The

The whole is a translation from a romance poem in French : for which we are indebted to Humfrey Bohun earl of Hereford, who was nephew to king Edward the Second, as we are informed in the poem. In the first part of the work are some lines, which afford intelligence to this purpose.

ze, that loven & lyken to listen ani more,
alle wyth on hole hert to the hey king of
hevene

preieth a pater noster prively this time
for the hend erl of herford sir humfray
de bowne,

the king edwardes newe at glouceter that
ligges

for he of frensche this fayte tale ferst
dede translate

in ese of englyshmen in englysch speche
and god graunt him his blis that godly
so prayen. Fol. 3.

The poem concludes with an address to the same purpose.

ze that liken in love swiche thinges to here
preyeth for that god lord, that gart this
do make

the

the hende erl of hereford humfray de
bowne

the gode kinge edwardes dowter was his
dere moder

he let make this mater in this maner
speche

for hem that knowe no frensche ne ne-
ver understo

biddeth that blisful barn that bowt us
on the rode

and to his moder marie of mercy that is
welle

and if the lord god lif he in erth
lenges

and whan he wendes of this world welthe
with oute ende

to lenge in that liking ioie that leseth
ever more

and god gif alle god grace that gladh so
biddes

and pertli in paradys a place for to have.
Amen.

The person above mentioned is said to
have been nephew of King Edward; which
Edward was the second of that name. His
sister Elizabeth married Henry Earl of
Holland

Holland and Lord of Freezland : but becoming soon a widow, she married Humphry Bohun Earl of Hereford, the father of the person, concerning whom we are treating : who by these means was grandson to Edward the First, and nephew to Edward of Carnarvon. As the Princess his mother was married in 1286, it is probable that he was born towards the latter end of that century : and this work may have been translated towards the middle of the next. It favours strongly of a provincial dialect : which may appear strange. For though this person was Earl of Hereford, yet it does not follow, that he should adopt the language of that province : nor is it credible, that a principal person at the King's Court, of so great eminence as an English Earl, should give into the rude speech of any county. But I do not apprehend, that this person was the immediate writer of this poem ; though he was the first translator of the romance. And this I think is plain from the evidence before obtained. For towards the beginning of the work, before

C

the

the writer has got to the seventh page, he desires us to pray for the hend Earl of Hereford, Humphrey Bohun, who then lay buried at Gloucester. At the same time he speaks of him as the first translator of this little history from French into English. And towards the end of the book he makes an apology for himself, and for the metre.

but 'thowh the metur be nowt mad at
eche mannes path
wite him nowt that it wrowt he wold
have do beter
zif is witte in eny weyes wold him have
served.

When he afterwards speaks of Humfray Bohun, he styles him again—the hend earl of Herford, that gart this work do make, i. e. *who * got this work done*: and he says to the same purpose, he let make this mater in this maner speche, i. e. *he per-*

* To gare, to make, or cause. Ray's North Country Dialects, p. 32. Hence gart, *made* or *caused*. God, who *gart* me. *ibid.* Gart, *caused*, *made*. See Gloss. to Robert of Gloucester.

mitted and directed this matter to be carried on in this manner of speech: alluding, I imagine, both to the language, and to the versification. From hence it seems to appear, that though the earl of Hereford had been the first translator, yet he was not the versifier, by whom the poem was made as we now have it: for this was not perfected, till after his death. He was then *ligging at Gloufeter*. That this poem was composed in a provincial dialect is, I think, plain from the peculiarity of stile; and from the variety of words, which are different, or else differently rendered, from those, which were in common use. Of these I will lay before the reader some examples. *arnd, around. al one, alone and only. azein, again. azene, against. aleggit, alayeth. aunteteres, ancestors. bretages, bridges. dawes, days. to dawe, to dawn. chirche, church. eni, uncle. fort, for to. fode, feed. greece, grass. guy, guide. gif, and zif, give. gof, if. heo and hoo, who. hatches, pains and aches. ich, I. ich, each. mow, may. leve, loved. leve, life. leved, believed. kud, good. kinne, can. kin, kine*

or *cattle*. kever, *cure*. leuth, *lost*. lawt,
took hold. haldes, *holds*. mest, *most*. mai,
maid. maid, *madam*. pult, *put*. onwar,
any where. sikand, *sighing*. eft, *often*.
nowth, *not*. nowthe, *now*. remewed, *re-*
moved. fore, *sorrow*. farre, *fore*. tom, *time*.
on swowe, *in a swoon*. welt, *beld*. dedus,
deeds. hidus, *bides or skins*. za, *yea*. zis,
yes. warder, *further*. zond, *yonder*. zow,
you. zour, *your*. zeld, *yield*. zere, *a year*.
zhe and sche, *she*. zit, zet, and zut, *yet*.
wol, *will*. athis, *ashes*. fouche, *vouch*.
ferche, *fresh*. knowlacheden, *acknowledged*.
boggeslyche, *boyishly*, or *like a boy*. war-
nished, *furnished*. To these I must beg
leave to add some other words, many of
which are still more uncommon : and
some not elsewhere to be found. Among
these may be reckoned the terms — com-
fed, dolven, rowt, warched, sewed, busk-
ed, dawed, bruttended, kevered, drouked,
dronked. Such also are *sad*, for *fixed* and
determinate : blive, zare, lel, lelly, alder-
ferst : to darken, to lork, to zeme, to
fouche, to attelle, to munge, to loute, to
stytle, to fond : tit, titly, hetterly, wi-
terly,

terly, gemlych, prestilyche, pertilyche, deliverly, lutherly, gamlych, kevily, zepli, felcouthly, spackly, zerne, famen, ferly: add to these, a forcer, a feyntise, a debate, dureffe, barret, bobance, speldes, komchaunce, feute, feuter. We must not in this place omit peculiarity of expression, such as, talliche hire attired. thei stint of hire wlouke mirthe. fatheli aschaped. manli sche melled hire. nest and no neege. thei henden hard hem to help. Then ferde thei alle forth 1 fere fayn of here * lives. The number of terms for a man
or

* The surest way to afford a just idea of this poem, and its dialect, is to produce some whole lines.

Ak nowthe ze that arn hende haldes ow stille.

i. e.

And now ye, that are friendly hold you quiet. p. 2.

Leve son, this lesson me lerde mi fader. p. 5, 6.

They layked there at lyking al the long day. p. 15.

For zour feyful fader nath zou nowt for zete. p. 74.

Than Alesandrine at arst than antresse hem tille. p. 15.

I sai a felcouthe syt mi self zister neye. p. 32. b.

i. e.

I saw an uncommon sight myself yesterday in the evening.

or a person is remarkable : these are—
burn, gome, fre, frike, feg, lud, kud,
wye, wyeth, rink, and kemp : but the last
is only applicable to a foldier.

From these peculiarities, I am induced
to suppose, that this poem was written in
a provincial stile. And from comparing
it with other writings, I judge it to be
one of the western dialects of this king-

Sche wept and wailed as sche wold have storve.

p. 22. b.

A Lady who was to be married to a Prince of Greece,
refuses her consent, and says—

—— were sche never so nobul

Of Emproures or Kings,——& come into grece,
Sche chold sone be bi schet here selve al one. p. 30. b.

i. e.

*However noble the Lady might be, she should soon be
shut up all alone by her self, and be condemned to perpe-
tual confinement.*

Let no feg myt have to fle our gode best,
Nere his wit & his werk we were shent bothe. p. 41.

i. e.

*Let no man have power to slay our kind beast,
Ne were (nere) that is, were it not for, his art &
his assistance we should be both ruined.*

dom ;

dom; and most probably of Hereford, or Gloucester.

That the diction of Rowley was in like manner provincial, may, I think, be seen from the numberless peculiarities, with which it abounds. It appeared so to me upon my first looking into these poems: and I am since confirmed in my opinion from a more intimate acquaintance with them. Instances to this purpose are very obvious: and I will accordingly lay some examples before the reader. Such is *bete* for *bid*: *bowk* for *bulk*: *caled* for *cold*: *fwote* for *sweet*: *stote* for *stout*: *gre* for *grew*: *drock* for *drink*: *mokie* for *murky*: *jintle* for *gentle*: *string* for *strong*: *seck* for *suck*: *roin* for *ruin*: *sheen* for *shine*: *loast* for *lost*: *cheorte* for *cheer'd*: *ying* for *young*: *eletten* for *enlighten*: *mees* for *meads*: *fleeter* for *slaughter*: *rou* for *rough*: *nete* for *nothing*: *feer* for *fire*: *astend* for *astound*: *gorne* for *garden*: *breed* for *broad*: *check* for *choak*: *ake* for *oak*: *ne* for *nigh*: *miesel* for *myself*: *ethie* for *easy*: *roder* for *rider*: *rayn* for *ran*: *yannie* for *then*:

alleyné for *alone* : tore for *torch* : quan-
 fed for *quenched* : tynge for *tongue* :
 fwoltering for *swallowing* : anere for *an-*
other : meynt for *many* : fel for *self* :
 drented for *drayned* : blent for *blinded* :
 strev for *strive* : straught for *stretched* :
 pais'd for *poised* : steers for *stairs* : widder
 for *whither* : peed for *pied* : dreynted for
drowned.

Nor is it only a variation in the mode
 of expreffion, which we meet with in this
 author ; there are numbers of entire words
 in every page, which have been for a long
 time obfolete. Some of thefe were pro-
 bably never in general ufe : but confined
 to particular provinces. Such is the term
 flughorne, fwarthe, geafon, chieve, weer,
 coiftril, anlance, brand, pheer, fchap : to
 which others might be added. The tran-
 fcriber has given fome notes ; in order to
 explain words of this nature. But he is
 oftentimes very unfortunate in his folu-
 tions. He miftakes the fenfe grofsly :
 and the words have often far more force
 and fignificance, than he is aware of.
 This could not have been the cafe, if he
 had

had been the author. His blunders would not have turned out to his advantage : nor could there have been more sense in the lines, than in the head, which conceived them. In short, chance could never have so contrived, that the poetry should be better than the purpose.

Many of the terms used by Rowley may be authenticated from the county dialects, which prevail at this day. Many may be found in books of etymology ; and particularly in ancient writings of those early times : in writings, which are too abstruse and remote, to have been ever entitled to the knowledge of Chatterton. Above all others, they are to be found in the version of Gawin Douglas : which, I think, it may be proved, that Chatterton could never have read. Indeed we may be morally certain, that he never heard of it.

Besides these terms, which, though obsolete, are native ; there are others, which are foreign, being partly borrowed, and partly framed, from other languages. These languages are the French and Italian ;

lian ; together with the Latin and Greek : with none of which we may presume, that Chatterton was at all acquainted. The writers of the times in question * affected a shew of learning, and they often coined new words ; and adopted others, by way of enriching their composition. This is particularly observable in the writers of romance : whose works in those days were in high request, and much read. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if in Rowley's poems there should be expressions of this nature ; which were not in general acceptance. Among these we may esteem crine for hair : likewise inutile, fructile, lethale, protoflain, fructuous, arduous, magistrie, dexter, digne, divinitre, dolce, gottes (from guttæ, *tears*) owndes, dispone, difficile, fcond, volunde, cleem from *clamo*, ynhyme from *inbumare*, affined, ewbrice from ὑβρις, superhallie, croched, uncted, zabalus, and the like. To these add words borrowed from

* Of this affectation see the learned Essay upon the English language, by Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his excellent edition of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 26, 42, 43.

the French : abassie, desclavate from esclavage, delievretie, estels for estoils, receivure, renombe, entendement, damoiselle, entremed, dureffed, battoné, bordelier, coupe, chapournette, couraciers, percase, paramente, vernage, persant, ribaude, blanch. From these and other circumstances we may be assured, that these poems were written in the Anglo-Norman stile : the same, of which the learned Hickes in his Thesaurus treats at large. And without any previous knowledge of the real author, we might be certain, that he was a man of learning ; and well acquainted with several languages.

These few examples out of many I lay before the reader, to whom at every turn of the book more will present themselves, should he choose to make farther inquiry. I never heard it surmised, that Chatterton was in the least acquainted with the French language : much less with the Latin and Greek. Whence then was it possible for him to have made such an exotic collection ? Many of these words he in a manner confesses, that he did not understand, by
his

his not attempting to give any explanation. How then could he possibly have inserted them? others he did attempt to interpret, but often failed in the solution.

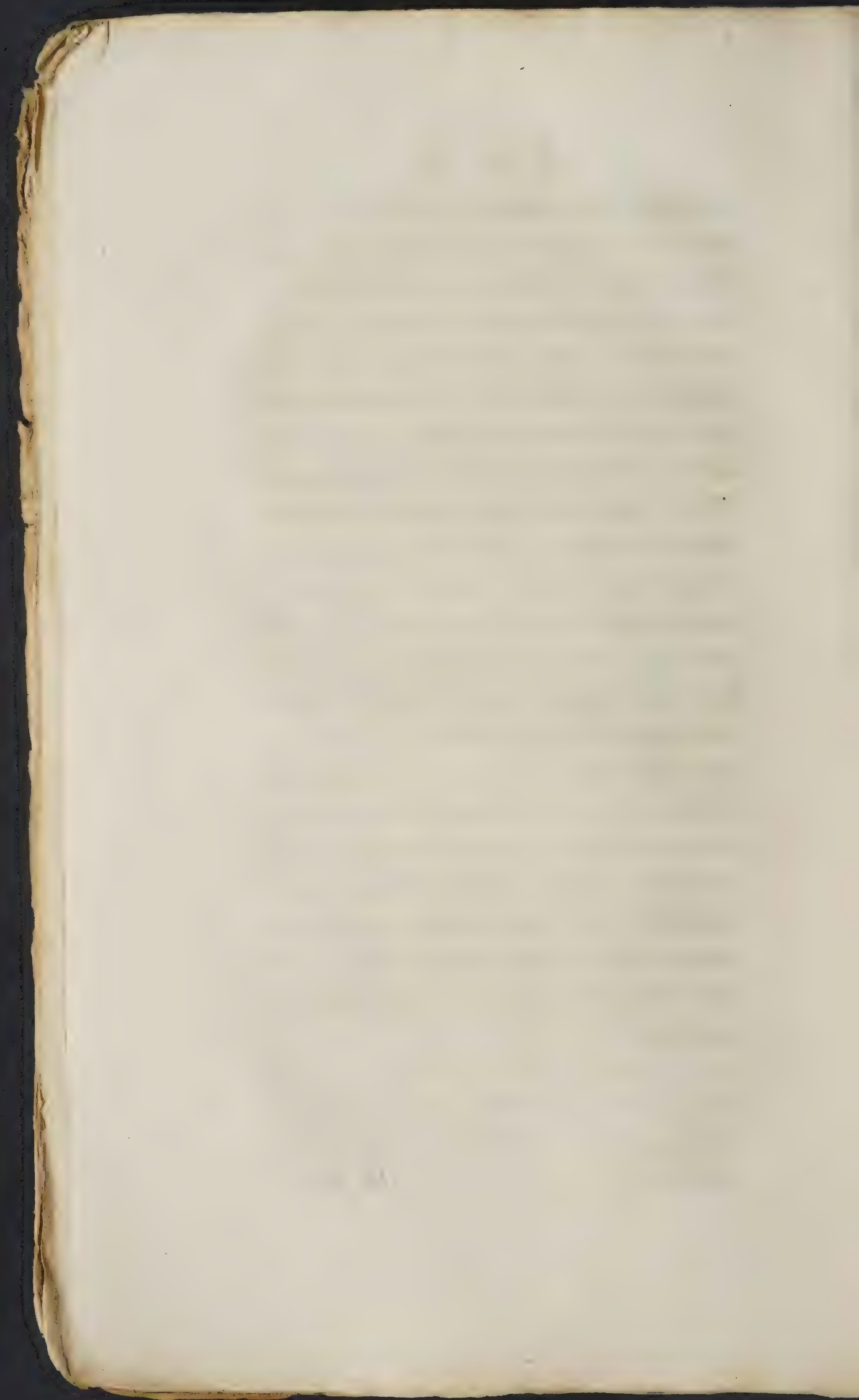
It shall now be my business to give some examples of those mistakes, which appear in the transcript of this young man; and of that ignorance, which he sometimes betrays, in his notes. But before I proceed to this, it will be proper to state some few postulata, which, I think, cannot in reason be denied me; and which are necessary to be premised.

I lay it down for a fixed principle, that if a person transmits to me a learned and excellent composition, and does not understand the context, he cannot be the author.

I lay it down for a certainty, if a person in any such composition has in transcribing varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appears from the context, that he cannot have been the author. If, as the ancient Vicar is said to have done, in respect to a portion of the gospel, he for *sumpsimus* reads uniformly *mumpsimus*,

mumpsimus, he never composed the treatise, in which he is so grossly mistaken. If a person in his notes upon a poem mistakes Liber, Bacchus, for liber a book; and when he meets with liber a book, he interprets it, liber, free: he certainly did not compose the poem, where those terms occur. He had not parts, nor learning to effect it. In short, every writer must know his own meaning: and if any person by his glossary, or any other explanation, shews, that he could not arrive at such meaning, he affords convincing proof, that the original was by another hand. This ignorance will be found in Chatterton: and many mistakes in consequence of it be seen: of which mistakes and ignorance I will lay before the reader many examples. When these have been ascertained, let the reader judge whether this unexperienced, and unlettered, boy could have been the author of the poems in question.

A LIST



A L I S T

OF SOME PARTICULAR TERMS

Which are authenticated and explained.

S Lughorne	Aluft
S Grange	To the ourt array.
Borne	Drawen
Oares	Logges
Bollengers	Bordels
Cottes	Go do
Barks	Bie thanks
Knopped	Blent
Deyfde	Cuyen
Groffing	Coyen
Abounde	Applynges
Abrodden	Blynn
Bysmare	Fraye
Cleare	Amenges
Dyght	Amenged
Victualle	Almer
Honde-point	Bretful
Aledge	Cherifaunce
Onlyght	Bistoikerre
5	Amenufed

Amenused	Adventayle
Amanased	Borne and Brun
Corven	Dole
Breme	Keppened
Thee and Theie	Poyntelle
An Omission	Alyfed
Betraffed	Amenused
Burlic	Adente
Brond	After la goure.

SLUGHORNE.

THIS word occurs more than once :
and it is interpreted by Chatterton
in one place *a musical instrument not unlike a
hautboy*. In another it is said to be *a kind
of clarion*. But a clarion and an hautboy
are very unlike, being distinct instruments.
It occurs in the second eclogue, p. 6, v. 9.

The water slughornes wythe a fwotie
cleme.

Also p. 30. v. 31.

Methynckes I heare the slughornes dynn
fromm farre.

Sounde, founde the slughornes.

p. 40. v. 150.

A leegefull challenge, lette the slugg-
horne founde. p. 35. v. 90.

It is plain, that Chatterton only formed
a judgment from the context : and knew
nothing precisely about this instrument.

D

In

In the first place, it was certainly an horn; such as the Danes, Saxons, and other Gothic nations used in war: and the name signifies as much: for by *flug* and *flag* is denoted *slaughter* and *battle*. *Slag*—*prælium*, *strages*. Olai Verelij Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. Hence came *slogan*, *slægan*, *flagan*, of the Saxons: which all signify to slay. A *flughorne* is properly *Buccina Bellica*, from the word before mentioned, *flag*, *prælium*. It is to be found in the version of the *Æneis* by Gawin Douglas, l. 7. p. 230. l. 36.

The draucht trumpet blawis the brag
of were,

The flughorne, encenze, or the watch cry
Went for the battle.

The whole is a paraphrase of the line
in Virgil:

Classica jamque sonant; it bello tessera
signum.

The author of the glossary derives it from the A. S. *flege*, *clades*: and *flegan*, *interficere*: and very truly interprets it—*Cornu Bellicum*. Olaus Wormius has
written

written a curious treatise upon an ancient horn of this sort.

GRANGE.

A sheepster or farmer is speaking of his possessions ; and among other things mentions his grange.

Mie Parker's grange, far spreedyng to the fyghte. p. 3. v. 35.

And it is interpreted by *liberty of pasture given to the Parker*. But it is nothing like it. A Grange was properly a *grange*, granagium ; where the grain of monasteries, and of wealthy persons, was at the harvest brought. It was an inclosed piece of ground, secured on all sides by a wall or pale, within which were barns, stables, and * outhouses. A granary was a

* Grange, a Fr. G. *Grange*, granarium. Horreum. q. d. Granium vel granicum. Skinner. It is styled Grangia by Sumner, who gives a better account of it. Grangia. Gall. et Angl. Grange. — He then quotes from Lindwood, Dicuntur (inquit) grangiae, non solum, ubi reponuntur grana, ut sunt horrea, sed etiam ubi sunt stabula pro equis ; hostaria sive praesepia pro bobus et aliis animalibus, &c.

building in the grange; where the grain, when it had been thrashed out, was carried, and locked up. It is called in the passage above—*Mie Parker's Grange*. But a grange had nothing to do with a park: nor could a sheepster, by which is meant a farmer, have either a park, or parker: by which last is signified a keeper to preserve * deer. A person in such an office belonged only to princes and great men. Hence I conceive, that we have here another mistake: which takes its rise from an error in transcribing. I am sensible, that many inclosures for other purposes are sometimes stiled parks: especially in North Britain. But in the south, the term is more particularly limited: and where a parker is mentioned, it is confined to a place for deer. Hence by Lye and other etymologists, it is very truly defined to be—*septum vivarium*. But as I said before, a sheepster or farmer, could not have any thing of this nature. The person introduced has been speaking of his

* Parker—a park-keeper. Kersey.

flocks and herds ; of his meadows and orchards ; and then adds *mie Parkers grange*. This, I am persuaded, is a mistake of the transcriber ; and the original reading was *mie parklich* ; or as we express it now, *parklike grange* : which the person describes in this manner, on account of its extent ; and of its being secured, and fenced round, like a park.

Mie parklich grange far spreedyng to the fyghte.

The grange of the farmer was in extent equal to the park of a nobleman.

Chatterton, I make no doubt, had sometimes recourse to Skinner and to Kersey, in order to obtain the meaning of the ancient terms, which he found in Rowley. But he does not seem to have had an opportunity of applying uniformly : otherwise he would have known from those writers, that a * grange was a repository for corn. Granarium, horreum ; q. d. granium vel granicum : omnia a latino

* Grange (F) a building, that has granaries, barns, stables, &c.—Kersey's Eng. Dictionary.

granum, &c. prædium rusticum †. Skinner. Had he once cast his eye upon this obvious passage, he would never have idly interpreted the term by—*liberty of pasture given to the Parker*. And indeed, had he been the author of the poem, he could never have been so ignorant. He certainly imagined that the term *grange* was equivalent to *range*; and hence was led to think it was a liberty granted to some person, whom he has denominated a *parker*. But what has a keeper of a park to do with pastures? The whole is a boyish mistake.

B O R N E.

The author of the *Tragycal Enterlude* is describing the morning of that day, when Ælla obtained the signal victory over the Dacians or Danes. Among other things, he mentions the rays of light shining upon the borne; which by the tran-

† The author of the glossary to Gawin Douglas mentions this word. Grange—corne grangis, granaries. —F. Grange. Lat. Barb. grangium. a Lat. granum.

scriber is interpreted—*burnish*. As the description is remarkably fine, I will present the reader with the whole; as he will from the context more readily perceive the true meaning of this term.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie
robes byn dyghte

From the rodde easte he flytted wythe
hys trayne :

The Howers drew awaie the geete of
nyghte,

Her fable tapistrie was rente yn twayne.

The dauncynge streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playne,

And on the dewe dyd smyle wythe shem
rynge eie,

Lyche gottes of blodde, whyche doe
blacke armoure steyne,

Sheenyng upon the *borne*, whych ston-
deth bie.

The souldyers stoode uponne the hillis
fyde ;

Lyche yonge enlufed trees, whyche yn
a forreste byde. *Ælla*, v. 734.

The transcriber not knowing the mean-

ing of the term borne; looked into Skinner, and found *Borne pro burnish*: and accordingly interpreted *the borne, whych stondeth bie*, by the *burnish, whiche stondeth bie*. He was probably still further led to this notion by the word armour being mentioned in the preceding line. That *borne* may signify burnish, we grant: but not here: for how can it be with the least propriety said, that the *burnish* of armour *stands by*? The purport of the term is totally mistaken. There are two words in our language; which I believe are sometimes spelled alike. These are bourne and borne. The first signifies a small * stream or rivulet: from which many places, such as Winborn, Winterborn, Otterborn, Sittenborn, have been denominated. The other, is from the French word, *borne* and *bornè*; and denotes any extremity, limit, or boundary. It is used in this sense by Shakespeare: and we find Hamlet speaking of

* I was weary of wandering & went me to rest,
Under a brode bank by a *bourne* side.

Pierce Plowman, p. 1.

That

That undiscovered country, from whose
borne

No traveller returns.—

By this is meant—from whose *limit*, and *boundary*, no traveller comes back. It is also used for the extreme part or ridge of a hill: and for a hill it * self. Hence a person in the *Comus* of Milton says—

I know each lane, and every alley green,
Dingle, or bushy dell of this wild wood;
And every bosky bourn from side to side.

Every *bosky bourn*, signifies every *woody hill*, or *ridge* of a hill. *Bosky bourn* is here opposed by the poet to *bushy dell* in the foregoing line. This is the true meaning of the passage in *Rowley*. He mentions the rising sun, shining upon the *borne*; that is, upon the upper and *extreme part*, or *ridge*, of that hill, which was near the army. The soldiers were lower down.

* In the same writer, a person, speaking of Dover cliff, says,

From the dire summit of this chalky bourne
Look up a height.

LEAR.

The

The souldyers stoode uppon the hillis
fyde.

It is used in the same sense in the second battle of Hastings: where there is a noble description of a mountain convulsed by an earthquake.

Now here, now there, majestic nods
the bourne. p. 247. v. 208.

The word *bourne* is here introduced in its true sense; and perfectly analogous in application to the same word mentioned before. This is what in the notes is interpreted *burnish*, though it in reality signifies the highest *range*, and *extremity* of an hill. I have sometimes thought that the latter part of the description was not right: and that what is expressed—*stondeth bie*, was originally—*stondeth bie*. There seems likewise to be another palpable mistake, where mention is made of the *dauncynge streakes*, which *bedecked heavens playn*. The poet had before described the solemn advance of *day*: and had mentioned, that

the hours drew away the * *geete*, i. e. the
robe or veil, of night, and adds,

Her fable tapestrie was rente yn twayne.

Then comes—

The *dauncynge* streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playne.

But what is there, that has the least ap-
pearance of dancing in the approach of the
morning; which comes on gently, and by
imperceptible degrees?

The true reading was *daunynge*—

The *daunynge* streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playn,

And on the dew dyd smile wythe
shemrynge eie,

Lych gottes of blodde, whyche doe
blacke armoure steyne,

Sheenynge upon the borne, which
stondeth hie.

* Sometimes expressed *gite*.—Gite, a gown. Kersey.

And she came after in a *gite* of red.

Chaucer, v. 3952.

O A R E S.

The gule depeyncted *oares* from the
black tyde,

Decorn wyth fonnes rare, doe them-
rynge ryse. Ecl. 2. v. 13.

As no notice is taken by the transcriber concerning the purport of this term, we may presume, that he thought it related to an oar, that implement, by which boats are rowed. But this, I have reason to think, is by no means the true meaning. The objects here described are said to rise, and to be *decorn wyth fonnes rare*. Now oars may indeed be painted: but I should think never with any rare designs.

* Fonne is the same as the Saxon *pan* ;
and

* Concerning this word I shall speak more particularly hereafter: for I cannot engage to give the meaning of every obsolete term, as I proceed, as it would be an hindrance to my present purpose. Hereafter I shall collect some of the most ancient and uncommon words; and bring authority for their usage; and at the same time explain their true purport,

However,

and signifies any curious device: but particularly vexillum, a standard or ensign. This cannot be supposed to relate to oars in the common acceptation: nor can they well be described—as *upswelling in dreary pride*. In short, the oares, here spoken of, were the same, which we now stile wherries; a kind of boats and pinnaces; made to attend upon ships. The name is very ancient; and by the Romans was expressed Horia: from whence came the word, mentioned above, *wherry*. It has at times been given to boats of not quite the same make; nor adapted to the same use: yet the similarity of name is manifest. Horia dicitur navicula piscatoria. Nonius Marcellus.—Salute horiæ, quæ me in mari fluctuoso—compotivit. Plautus Rud. Act. 4, 2, 5. Meâ operâ laboratur et rate et horiâ. Ibid. 4, 3, 81. From hence we find, that it was always esteemed a smaller kind of vessel: and it is by the poet set off

However, not a few will necessarily be taken notice of, as I go on: but these will be chiefly such as serve to my present purpose of discovering those mistakes, which have proceeded from the transcriber.

with

with streamers, and with the ensigns and devices of the troops, which were about to land. It was sometimes expressed *Oriæ*. *Malo hunc alligari ad oriam, ut semper piscetur, etsi sit tempestas maxima.* Plautus in *Cacisto*. Aulus Gellius mentions, among other names of vessels, *Celetes*, *Lembi*, *Oriæ*. L. x. Ch. 25. From the last came the *oare*s above: which we now express *wherries*. In Rowley they signify barges, which were painted red; and as they approached within view of the enemy on the shore, they seemed to rise by degrees from the ocean; and from the reflection of the sun upon their rich ornaments are compared to stars.

Upſwalynge doe here shewe ynne ſhem-
rynge pryde,
Lych gore-red † eſtells in the evemerck
ſkyes.

* * * * *

Alonge from bark to bark the bryghte
ſheene flyes. V. 15, 19.

† From the French *etoile*, expressed formerly *eſtoile*.

B O L L E N-

BOLLENGERS and COTTES.

The *Bollengers* and *Cottes* so swyfte yn
fyghte.

Upon the sydes of everych *bark* appear.

Eclog. ii. v. 33.

The first of these is the name of a very uncommon vessel : concerning which however sufficient evidence may be obtained. Ships are sometimes denominated from the places, where they are built : or to which they particularly relate : as an Hamburger, Lubecker, Groenlander, and the like. Du Cange mentions Brabantgarij, ships of Brabant : whence some have thought, that the Bollengers might have been ships of Boulogne. But this certainly was not the case. It is to be observed, that there was formerly a sort of ship, called a balaner ; which the same author calls balanerijs ; and of which he gives the following description. Balanerijs navigij majoris genus. He then quotes a passage ex Archivis Massiliens :

where

where these ships are mentioned in company with some others. Ipforum naves, Balanerios, Galateas, Barchias, Caravellos. I am led to think, that this Balaner, the Balanerius of Du Cange, is the vessel alluded to by the poet; and by corruption rendered Bollenger. It is undoubtedly the same, which is mentioned by Gawin Douglas, and expressed Ballyngare. It occurs in the beginning of the sixth book of the *Æneis*.—Sic fatur lacrymans, &c.

Thus wepand said & let his flote at
large,

Quhil at the bayth † Ballyngare and
barge,

* * * * *

Arrivit near the ciete of Cumæ.

C O T T E S.

What is here stiled a Cotte, is the same as is called a Catt: which seems to have been a name of great antiquity. The

† Ballyngare, a kind of ship. Gloss. *ibid*.

Grecians

Grecians had a vessel, called Cetus, Catus, and Cetene; which is said to have been so denominated from Cetus a whale. This name prevailed among many nations. There are vessels at this day, which are common upon the northern part of the English coast, and called Catts. Part of the harbour at Plymouth is called Catt-water: undoubtedly from ships of this denomination, which were once common in those parts. That there was such a kind of vessel as a Catt, and well known, we may farther learn from Du Cange. He mentions the name with all its variations, with which it has been at times expressed. It was called Cata, Catta, Cota, Cattus, Gattus, Gatus: concerning all which we find the following account. Cata, navis. * Cota, navigij species. Gata, navis. Gatus, navis species. The author having mentioned—Gata, navis: also Cattus, and Catta, quotes a passage from Wilhelmus Heda, which affords farther light concerning the nature of this vessel. Immergitur ingens

* The name of the vessel called a Cutter, is probably a variation from the Latin Cota.

navis in flumine Hemâ ad impediendum introitum Trajectinorum, quam Cattam nominabant. He quotes in another place to the same purpose — Cattus, qui pergebat Dyrrachio, perijt in pelago. He mentions again — Gentilium navis, quæ dicitur Cattus.

As the Catt was probably named from Cetus, and Catus a whale: so the ship Bolenger may have been denominated from Balæna, another name for the same fish. There was a vessel called a * Crab, so named from the Latin * carabus, analogous to the names above.

B A R K S.

The poet introduces the Bark as superior both to the Bollenger and Cotte: which seems to be extraordinary; and contrary to the idea, with which it is ge-

* Isidorus. L. 19. C. 1. Uffer de Eccles. Britan. primord. p. 606. Tres Scotici viri carabum intrantes sine velo, &c. Florent. Wigoniens. ad annum 892.

nerally attended. On this account it may not be improper to define it. According to * Isidorus, by a bark is signified a boat or pinnace, which during a voyage was carried in the ship, but upon coming into port was hoisted out, for the conveyance both of men, and merchandise, to be landed. Barca est, quæ cuncta navis commercia ad littus portat.—Hunc navis in pelago propter nimias undas suo suscipit gremio : ubi autem appropinquaverit portui, reddit vicem barca navi, quam accepit in pelago. It is by Paulinus stiled scapham sequacem, from its being often tied to the stern of the ship, when it sails. See Du Cange. Skinner mentions—barca, *bark*, a Fr. barque : cymba, linter. Barca, Italicum, lembus.—Barga, navicula, scapha oneraria ; alijs barca et barcās : Græco-barb. *Capna*. Spelman.

From the above one might be led to think, that things have been strangely inverted : that the larger vessels have been diminished to boats ; and the boats raised

* Isidorus. L. 19. C. I.

to ships. We find, that the Bolengers and Cotts are described as lying by the sides of the barks, which seems contrary to all usage: for the smaller vessel is always represented as attending upon the larger, and lying beside it. Thus much satisfaction is however gained, that we find sufficient authority for the terms introduced, and that such vessels really existed. And in respect to the difficulty, and the seeming inversion of order, it must be considered, that ships and vessels of the same name at different times, and in different places, vary greatly. In the same country what is a barge at one place, has very little conformity with the vessel of the same name in another. A bark in its general acceptation is little better than a skiff or boat: and so we have seen it defined by several authors. Yet there are undoubtedly passages in writers, where it is described, as a vessel of burden. Du Cange, in a quotation introduced above, mentions Barks in conjunction with Carvels — Galateas, Barchias et Caravellos: which last were Spanish and Portuguese vessels,

vessels, and the largest, that were sent to sea. He quotes likewise a passage from Ugotius; where the bark is spoken of as a ship of *burden. *Barca navis mercatorum, quæ merces exportat.* Hence in the Saxon glossary of Ælfric we find it stiled *plot-ƿcip*; by which is signified *a ship of the sea*. It was certainly used in the same acceptation by writers far later; as may be seen from the accounts of some of our greatest navigators, Drake, Cavendish, and others. That it was used for a vessel of the sea, may be also known from the very terms *to embark*, and *disembark*: which are only applied to ships.

The same will appear from the celebrated passage in Shakespear, where he introduces a person, who gives an account of Dover cliff.

† The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,

* A hoy by Kersey is said to be a small bark. Therefore barks in general must be larger than hoys.

† Lear.

Appear like mice : and that tall an-
choring † *bark*

Diminish'd to her cock : her cock a
buoy,

Almost too small for fight.

I had once my scruples about the passage in Rowley : and I therefore began with stating in full force, what may be brought in objection to it. But I am now persuaded, that there is nothing amiss in the text ; and that the barks were transports, in which the army of King Richard was carried over. And though I do not think with the transcriber, that the bollengers and cotts were a kind of boats ; yet I imagine that they were a sort of galliots and tenders, which waited upon the larger vessels. We must not be too pre-

† Even the term boat is sometimes used for a ship, and it is not uncommon to say of a man of war that she is a good sea *boat*. This seems to have obtained of old : for when Tostig in the time of Harold landed in the Humber, and many of the shipmen deserted him, it is said in the Saxon Chronicle, *7 pa Butrecapler hine for-pocan i. e. and the boatscarles him forsook.* p. 172.

cisely

cisely determined by the primitive meaning of their names : but consider in what acceptation they were held at the time spoken of, and by the people, among whom they are found. The bollenger is mentioned by Kersey, who expresses it Bullenger ; and speaks of it as a sort of small sea vessel or boat. This affords sufficient authority for the term : though I imagine, as I have before said, that it was rather a kind of tender or galliot. But this is of little moment. The poet has all along been describing the process of the Christian navy through the Levant seas, and their approach to the Holy Land ; when they come near enough to disembark, he mentions the * transports ad-

* The terms for the vessels, which were employed in these expeditions to the Holy Land, are in Rob. of Brunne—*Busses* and *Gallais*. p. 149. l. 24. p. 158.

Dight us thider ward our busses and galais.

p. 149. l. 24.

A grete busse and gay, fulle hie of saile was he.

p. 169. l. 16.

In bargeis and galeis he fet mylnes to go,

The sailes, as men fais, som were blak and blo.

Som were rede and grene.

p. 173. l. 27.

vancing with their barges and tenders by their side, and the knights and soldiers leaping into them, in order to get as soon as possible to land. Then comes the passage in question.

The bollengers and cottés, soe swyfte
yn fyghte,
Upon the sydes of everych bark appere;
Foorth to his offyce lepethe everych
knyghte,
Eftsoones hys squyer with hys shielde
and spere.

There is in the same poem a mistake of the transcriber, which it may be worth while to rectify. It was suggested to me by a learned friend; and is to be found in v. 28.

The banner glesters on the beme of day;
The mittie cross Jerusalem ys sene.

How could Jerusalem, which was a city, and the great object of the armament, be stiled a *cross*? The true reading was manifestly this.

Thie mittie cross, Jerusalem, ys sene.

The

The crofs of Jerufalem was the device upon every flag ; and the badge of every knight : and it was to be feen upon the masts of all the fhips.

K N O P P E D.

Theyre myghte ys knopped ynne the
frofte of fere. p. 197. v. 14.

This is interpreted — *fastened, chained, congealed* : and fuch may fometimes be the purport of it ; but not in this place. What is here expreffed knopped is provincial for knapped, from the verb to knap : by which is fignified to * *bite off* and *crop very fhort* : to *pinch off very close*. It is certain, that in fome of the dialects of this ifland, man is pronounced *mon* ; captain *coptain* ; to leap to † *lope*. In like manner

* See Kerfey, Johnfon, and other etymologifts.

† So con for *ken* : dolve for *delve* : mory for *miry* : mowe for *may* : noufe for *noife* : vorft for *firft* : wor for *war* : wop for *weep* : in Rob. of Gloucefter ; in which author many more instances to the fame purpofe may be obtained.

to

to knap is here rendered to knop. The short browsing of deer upon underwood is by Kersey stiled *knapping*: and both *knopping* and *knapping* seem to be the same as nipping, differently exhibited. The purport of the line is certainly very different from that which is exhibited in the notes: and amounts to this,

Their might was * *nipped* in the frost of fear.

The transcriber has neither expressed, nor explained it truly. He was at a loss about the meaning of the word; and had recourse to Chaucer and Skinner, where he found, that the term knop, and * knopped related to *tying* and *fastening*. In consequence of which he imagined, that this was the sense here: he has accordingly interpreted, what signifies *diminished*, *nipped*, and *blasted*, by *fastened*, *chained*, and *congealed*: to which it has no relation.

* Kersey has, knopped, tied, laced.

DEYSDE.

D E Y S D E.

The Lady Birtha fays to Ælla—

Ofte have I feene thee atte the none-
daie feaste,

Whan deyfde bie thiefselſe for wante of
pheeres. p. 79. v. 45.

This is in the notes interpreted—*ſeated on a deis*. By a deis of old was ſignified, a raiſed place or ſuggeſtrim, where a feaſt was held. It was afterwards uſed with a greater latitude : and it is interpreted in the Gloſſary to Gawin Douglas—a *deſk*, *ſeat*, or *table*. It is accordingly ſaid, when Achates brings Aſcanius to Dido at Carthage,

And as they come the Quene was ſet at
deis. L. 1. p. 35. l. 20.

i. e. at table.

It is ſo interpreted by Matthew Paris, where he mentions the anſwers given to Pope Gregory by the convent of St. Albans.—Non permittitur ciphus cum pede
in

in refectorio nisi tantum in majori mensa,
quam Deis appellamus. In ductuario ad-
dit. p. 229, 14. As from *seat*, and to
seat, came the participle *seated*; so from
deis, and to deis, must be formed *deised*:
and this was certainly the true reading.

Whan *deised* bie thieselfe for wante of
* pheers.

i. e.

Seated by thyself for want of equals.

GROFFYNGELYE.

Wordes wythoute sence fulle *groffyngelye*
he twynes. p. 69. v. 33.

It is spoken of a poet, and supposed to
signify *foolishly*: and it is so explained in
the notes. But the meaning is, that the

* The word is expressed both *pheers* and *feers*.
In the version of Gawin Douglas it is *feris*.

It is said of Misenus —

Some tyme he was ane of grete Hector's *feris*.

p. 168. l. 46.
One of his companions. Of this word I shall say
more hereafter.

person

person alluded to strung together a number of unmeaning words in a very low, and abject manner. Gruff and groff signify *prone*, and *flat upon the ground*. Hence it is said in Chaucer,

* They fallen *groff*, and crien pitiously.
p. 38. v. 951.

It occurs in another place,

And *groff* he fell al platte upon the
† ground. p. 229. v. 13605.

When Nifus tumbles in the middle of the race, it is said in the Scottish version—

He flaid and stummerit on the sliddry
ground,
And fell at erd *grufelingis* amid the fen,
p. 138. l. 41.

The term *grufeling* is the same, which we express *groveling*; and relates to a person brought low and rolling on the ground. Hence I should imagine that

* See Edition of Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

† The like occurs in the Hist. of William Wallace.

In anguish greit on grouf than turnit he.

L. 12. p. 170.

the passage in Rowley has not been truly copied by the transcriber: and that for *groffyngelye* we should read *groffelynglye*. As from loving is formed *lovingly*: from feeling, *feelingly*, so from *groffelynge*, *groffelynglye*. By *groffelynge* is meant any thing low and abject. Hence the meaning of the line above is—

Words without sense full *abjectly* they
twine.

When the transcriber interpreted this word by—foolishly, he proceeded merely by guess: and knew nothing of the real purport. In another part of the poems, there is a word of nearly the same signification—*Groffile*.

Thou beest a worme so *groffile* and so
smal. p. 114. v. 547.

This is analogous to the former: and signifies groveling and contemptible.

ABOUNDE.

A B O U N D E.

His cristede beaver dyd him smalle a-
bunde.

1 Batt. of Haft. p. 212. v. 55.

It is plain from the context, that *his helmet* did him very little *good* or *service*. Hence I should be led to think, that the transcriber has made a mistake, and expressed by *abounde*, what was originally *aboune*, or *abone*. By which is signified any *good* or *advantage*. Abone, vox antiqua obsoleta, quæ mihi in solo Dict. Angl. occurrit. et exp. maturum facere. Author vult esse Italicæ originis: mallet declinare immediate a Fr. G. *abonnir*, bonum facere: mediate ab It. *abbonare*, *abbonire*, bonum facere, vel bonum fieri. Skinner. The purport therefore of the line above is—

His crested helmet did him little *good*.

Chatterton was not at all acquainted with the Latin tongue: and did not uniformly

formly apply to Skinner: otherwise he would have taken advantage of this intelligence. There is a provincial term of nearly the same purport—to boon, or beun, to do service to another as a landlord. Ray's North Country Dialects.

A B R O D D E N.

Twayne lonelie shepsterres dyd *abrodden*
 fle. Eclog. i. v. 6.

This is interpreted *abruptly*. The shepherds fled from home *abruptly*. But according to the ancient Saxon, where the very word occurs, it has a different and more peculiar sense. Abroden, erutus, extractus, avulsus—Dict. by Lye and Manning. The meaning therefore is, that they were by the civil wars *exiled* and *driven* from their homes. Nos patriæ fines, nos dulcia linquimus arva.

B Y S M A R E.

B Y S M A R E.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
 Roarynge, and rolleyng on yn course
bysmare. p. 202. v. 94.

This term bysmare is by the transcriber interpreted, *bewildered, curious* : which epithets he couples together, as if they were synonymous. But they, neither of them, convey the true meaning. The word occurs in Chaucer, and is said to betoken *abusive speech*. So does the term billingsgate at this day : yet they had both a prior, and a very different meaning. In the glossary to Gawin Douglas it is mentioned as denoting a *bawd* or *pimp*. But this likewise must be in a secondary acceptance. Junius mentions its being found in Chaucer, and thinks, that it relates to *scorn* and *indignation*. Bismare Chaucero denotat indignationem, contumeliam, despectum. When William the Conqueror lay dropfical at Rheims, Philip of France jested upon him, and said, that

F he

he had got a big belly, and had taken to child-bed.

The Kynge, he seyde, of Engeland halt
hym to hys bedde,
And lyth myd hys gret wombe at Rheyms
achyld beede.

Robert of Gloucester, from whom this is taken, says, that he—*drof hym to * bysmare* : by which may be signified, that he drove him to *scorn* ; or rather, I should think, to wrath, and indignation. The word is of great antiquity, and we must therefore go higher for its original purport. Accordingly from the best, and most early authorities we find that by *bysmare* was signified any thing loud, and turbulent : also any thing, which caused terror and veneration either in sound or appearance. *Bysmare, horrendus*. Olaus Verelius. *Lex. Goth.* p. 48. In Bede, *Bysmarfullum Gode* is interpreted, *Deo borrendo*. — *L. i. C. 7. p. 37.* And in

* *Bysmare*——mocking, scorn. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester.

the best Saxon † Dictionary, where the various senses of this word, are enumerated, Bismorful is among others rendered *horrendus*. This seems to be the original purport of the word: and from hence I think we may be pretty certain, that there is nothing *curious* alluded to: but by *course bysmare* is signified *curfu sonoro, vel horrendo*: which is a description very applicable to the Severn.

Had Chatterton been the author of these compositions, he would have introduced the word in the same acceptation, in which it is to be found in Chaucer: for if there be any writer, with whom we may presume him to have been acquainted, it was with him. But he deviates from him in this place, and in many other instances. The reason was, because he had an original before him: and the term, as it is to be found in Chaucer, could not be made to agree with the context. He therefore gave it the best interpretation, that

† Bismen, contumelia, ludibrium. Bismorful, horrendus. Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning.

he was able : but was wonderfully wide of the mark.

There seem likewise to be other signs, that our transcriber often copied, what he did not understand : and that he probably made some small alterations, when he could not precisely make out the original. He uses the word *Bysmare* as an adjective, which I believe by all other writers is introduced as a substantive. Hence I have a suspicion, that he has not copied the text truly : and that what he has rendered *course bysmare* was in the original *hoarse bysmare*.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn *hoarse
bysmare*.

i. e. rauco terrore fluens.

At all rates there is nothing in the original, which signifies either bewildered, or curious. We meet with the like term, introduced in the *Storie of William Canynge* as a participle.

Next Radcleeve Church (oh worke of
hande of heav'n,

Where Canynge sheweth as an instru-
mente)

Was to my *bismarde* eyne fyghte newlie
giv'n. p. 285. v. 139.

Bismarde in this place signifies—*astonish-
ed, filled with veneration*; being a partici-
ple from the substantive *bismar*.

It is moreover to be observed, that this
river is stiled *cleere*. Now this is an epi-
thet of all others the least applicable to
the Severn. No person born at Bristol
could possibly have spoken of it in this
manner. Indeed the term must appear
very ill adapted to any river, which is
described as *roaring and rolling on*. It is
not consistent with the description of the
Severn, which is given in the *Storie of
Master William Canynge*.

Whylst blataunt Severne, from Sabryna
clep'de,

Rores * fleemie o'er the † fan-des, that
she hep'de. p. 278. v. 11.

* Fleemie—the same as flema in Sumner: Flema,
Flyma, Flyman. fugitivus. from Saxon flyma.

† A sandy stream could not be clear.

Such a stream could never be pure, and transparent. It is a character, which Chatterton of all others would not have bestowed upon the Severn. He would never have called it *cleare*, unless he had been apprised, that the word had another latent meaning. But his silence shews, that he knew nothing of any such hidden purport: for he would otherwise have inserted it among his other interpretations, and avoided the seeming inconsistency. But Rowley was well acquainted with that which was a secret to his transcriber; and has written with great propriety. The Severn was famous both for its trade and navigation, and also for its ancient history and fabulous original. For it was supposed to have taken its name from Sabrina, daughter of Lochrine, who was drowned in its stream. Our poet tells the story differently, and says, that Sabrina was overwhelmed by a mountain, which was hurled upon her by a giant knight: and that after her death a river issued from her body.

Forth

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre *cleere*,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn course
bysmare.

Now the word *cleere* does not in this place relate to transparency ; but signifies *fine, noble, famous, renowned* : all which was a secret to the transcriber. It occurs in this acceptation in ancient authors ; and in particular in the version of the New Testament by * Wiclif. In the glossary *cleere* is rendered fine and gallant : Clerte, *glory*. Apoc. C. 21. and Luke C. 3. Also clereness, *glory*. John C. 2. v. 17. It is thus used in an ancient recommendatory † prayer for a dying person. The ryghte splendaunt companie of Angellis be atte thy departure. The ryght *clere* senate of the Apostolys wylle defende the. The words in the gospel of St. John, C. 17. v. 16. — *And I am glorified in Thee*, are in the old

* And whanne he was gon out Jhesus seide, nowe mannes sone is clarified, and God is clarified in him. John xiii. v. 32.

† The Art and Crafte to knowe welle to dye. Printed by Caxton, 1490.

Suevic version rendered—Och jag ar *for-claret* 1 them. We find the same passage of the Evangelist paraphrased in an ancient metrical version at King's College, Cambridge, where the word occurs in this sense repeatedly: the present reading is as follows. *These words spake Jhesus, and lift up his eyes to heaven and said; Father, the hour is come: glorify thy son, that thy son also may glorify thee. Again—I have glorified thee on earth: I have finished the work, which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory, which I had with thee, before the world was.* This in the metrical version is paraphrased after the following manner.

As oure lord Jhesus his eyen caste an
hei,

Toward hevене, he seide, fader, the
tyme is ney

I come, that thou *clernesse* on thi sone
do,

That the sone the mowe mak *cler* also.

Ich

Ich habbe y mad the *cler* in erthe, &
that work also

To end Ich have now y browt, that you
tok me to do.

And, fader, bifore thi fulf make me now
cler,

In thilke *clerneffe*, that ich hadde ar ich
come her.

From thefe evidences, I think, we may
be affured, that by a river *cleere* in the paf-
fage above is fignified—*rivus * clarus* : a
noble and renowned stream : and that the
term has not here any relation either to
the purity or transparency of the water.

* In the hiftory of William and the Werwolf, a
Mff. in K. C. C. it is faid of a Queen, that

Sche went

Into a choys chaumber, the *clerli* was painted. p.66.

i. e. *finely, nobly*.

Hence probably came the prefent word *cleverly* and
clever : both from *clere*.

D Y G H T E.

Telle mie Bristowans to dyghte yn stele.

p. 100. v. 945.

The transcriber does not seem to have observed that in this line both rythm and grammar are affected. Mr. Tyrwhitt has restored the true reading.

Telle mie Brystowans to be dyghte yn stele.

i. e. to be accoutred in their armour.

V Y C T U A L L E.

Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the false God, whom they did Tau-
ran name,

Dightynge his altarre with greete fyres
in Maie,

Roastyng theyr vyctualle round aboute
the flame.

2 Batt. of Hastings. p. 264. v. 345.

Mr.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his usual accuracy has cancelled the term *vyctualle*, and restored the true reading—*vyctimes*.

Roflynge theyr *vyctimes* round aboute
the flame.

But does not this correction shew, that the person, who made the mistake, from the evidence of that mistake, could not have been the author of the original composition? I think nothing can be more plain. He seems to have had a Mss. before him, which he could not always read, as it was probably in some degree imperfect: and he has supplied the deficiencies to the best of his ability: but oftentimes not very happily.

HONDE POYNCTE.

The foemenn everych honde poyncte
getteth fote. p. 95. v. 273.

This word is omitted in the notes, as unintelligible: yet it plainly relates to the
marks

marks upon a dial : and to the hand or gnomon, by whose pointed shadow time was distinguished. We should now a days express the same ideas by saying, that the enemy *every moment* got footing. There is a particularity in the expression above, which may well be expected from a person of the times : whether it were Turgot or Rowley : but such, as the boy of Bristol could never have thought of. In truth he did not in the least know, to what the term related.

A L E D G E.

—— Ne aledge stonde. p. 177. v. 5.

This Chatterton interprets *idly* : and that was certainly the original purport of the passage, before it was sophisticated by him. For he has transposed the letters, and formed his opinion by guess. The word *idle* is from the Saxon *ydel*, the adverb of which is *ydelech*. Therefore instead of aledge, he should have expressed
it

it *adelege*, which is analogous to *ydelech*. This was undoubtedly the true reading, of which *alodge* is a transposition. There is such a word as *alodge*, but it is of a different meaning. *Alodge*, *ease*: Chaucer. *Alodge*, alleviate. Gloss. to Chaucer, by Mr. Tyrwhitt. It is the same, which we now express *allay*. But the word in the line quoted is of quite a different purport.

O N L Y G H T E.

Ælla threatens destruction to the Danes, who have invaded his country; and in describing his purpose he says—

Theyre throngynge corpes shall *onlyghte*
the starres,

The barrowes braстыnge wythe the slenne
schall swelle. p. 123. v. 678.

Every body knows, that the Danes buried their slain upon plains and open places in *tumuli*, which were called *lowes* and *barrows*. And Ælla in these fine
lines

lines tells his soldiers, that the enemy's dead shall be so numerous, that they shall swell their tombs, till they burst for want of room, and not suffice to hold them. But what is the meaning of the first line, where it is said, that the dead bodies should *onlyghte* the stars? Here is certainly a great mistake of the transcriber, who did not know the author's meaning; and has substituted one word for another. Instead of *onlyghte* I make no doubt but that the original was *onlyche*; which signifies to be like, or equal to. *Onlych* is the same term, which we now express *liken*: and the meaning of the line is this, that the corpes of the Danes should be *like*, or *equal to* the stars of heaven.

Theyr throngynge corpes shall *onlyche* the starres.

i. e. match them in number.

Onlych comes from the Saxon *onlic*, *similis*: whence also comes *onlicniſſe*, *likeness*, *an image*. *Onlic*, *similis*: *Spide onlice*, *valde similis*. *Onlicniſſe*, *similitudo*, *simulacrum*. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

A L U S T E.

Then Alured coulde not hymself *aluste*.

p. 214. v. 88.

Chatterton has certainly, as Mr. Tyrwhitt with great ingenuity proves, mistaken the word *aiust*, and read it *alust*. This he has done by looking into Skinner, where the term sought for is printed very obscurely. The letter i, particularly, resembles an l: which undoubtedly led him into this mistake. The word, which he sophisticates, occurs in the first battle of Hastings; where Alured is described as encumbered with his dead horse fallen upon him.

Then Alured coulde not himself *aiust*.

This is certainly the true reading: and what was in those times termed *aiust*, or *ajust*, is the same as by the French is expressed *ajuster*; and by us at the present time *adjust*. The meaning therefore is—
Alured could not extricate himself, and reco-
ver

ver his right position. The true word is very proper, though misrepresented. But the person, who was so grossly mistaken, could not have been very conversant in ancient authors. And he, who was so fundamentally ignorant in writings of this nature, could not have been the author of these poems. Skinner says, *Aiust, submovere, tollere* : as if it signified to *hoise, or hoist* : *he could not lift himself up.* At this rate it should answer to the *hauffer* of the French. But it undoubtedly comes from the verb *ajuster* ; as I have mentioned before.

TO THE OURT ARRAIE.

This expression occurs in the second battle of Hastings, where it is said—

The Normannes all emarchialld in a
lyne

To the ourt arraie of the thight Sax-
onnes came. p. 266. v. 587.

The purport of the lines seems to be obscure as they now stand : but by a small change

change in arrangement the author's meaning may possibly be obtained. What is above rendered *to the ourt*, was perhaps in the original, *towart the*. The Normans came *towart the* arrai of the Saxons. That which we express *toward* was oftentimes rendered *towart*.

Eneas sterne in armes tho present,
Rolland his ene towart Turnus did stand.

G. Doug. Eneis. L. 12. p. 447. l. 29.

Again —

The bargis did rebound,
In rowand fast *towart* the latine ground.

ibid. p. 326. l. 12.

I have however sometimes thought, that possibly by *the ourt arraie* might be meant the *overt array*: and that *ourt* was a contraction for *overt*, or *ouvert*. By this would be signified the *open array*: the fair front of the Saxon battalions. * *Overt*: *open* or *manifest*. Kersey's Dict. *Overt*: a Fr. *ouvert*. *apertus*. Skinner. If it be,

* *Overte*. adj. Fr. *open*. Gloss. to Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

as I surmise, the line—To the ourt arraie
of the thight Saxannes came—intimates,
that the Normans marched up to the op-
posite ranks of the Saxons ; who stood in
full view ; and were also *thight*: *i. e.* close-
ly joined, and firmly united. *Thight.*
well joined, and knit together. Kersey. See
also Gloss. to Rob. of Brunne.

DRAWEN, or DRAWNE.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thousands of Dacians wente.

p. 24. l. 9.

The word *Drawne* may be right : yet I
suspect that it has been in some degree al-
tered from what it was in the manuscript.
I imagine, that in the original it was
drav'n, or *drov'n*, from the verb *drive* and
drove. The Danes *driven* by Ælla's fell
sword sunk by thousands to the grave.
Drawne may be provincial for *drov'n* : at
all rates I think, that it has no relation to
the word *draw* (*traho*) to which the tran-
scriber

scriber probably referred it : as he has not given us any interpretation ; nor any caveat to the contrary.

LOGGES and BORDELS.

The third Eclogue begins with these lines.

Wouldst thou kenn nature in her better
parte ?

Goe, ferche the *logges* and *bordels* of the
hynde. p. 12.

There is certainly a mistake in the second verse : for the plural *logges* is a disyllable ; and makes a fault in the rythm. Besides in those times an hind had but one lodge or bordel : and he was perhaps well off to have that. Even now we never speak of the cottages of the shepherd, nor of the huts of the labourer. The passage therefore for the sake of metre, and of sense, should be corrected ; and the words rendered lodge and bordel in the singular.

Goe ferch the *logge*, and *bordel* of the
hynde.

That is, go look into the weatherboarded cottage of the peasant.

Bordel in Chaucer signifies a brothel ; and bordeller, a person, who kept such a place. But the author above uses the words in their true and original meaning : borrowing them from the French writers ; from whom they were first imported. In the language of that nation a bordel in its primitive sense signified a *cottage* ; and a bordeller, a *cottager*. And that our author has an eye to the original language is plain by his terming such a person in another place, not a *bordeller*, but a * *bordelyer* : which is undoubtedly put for the French *bordelier*. The word is a diminutive from *bord* or *bourd*, an *house*, or *shop*. As *bord* is an house, so bordel is an inferior habitation ; a cottage or hovel. Bordel, a *small cottage*. Kersey's Dict. The term *bord*, from whence bordel was derived, occurs in the poem of William and the Werwolf more than once : and is sometimes expressed *bourdes*,

* Ælla, v. 410.

He was at a *bourdes*, ther bachelers
pleide. p. 22. b.

i. e.

*He was at a public house, where young
people gamed.*

Again—

Sche—blive atte a *bourde* borrowed
boyes cloaths.

i. e.

She readily at a shop borrowed boys cloaths.

G O D O—&c. &c.

The poet is upbraiding men of a timorous disposition; and bids them get away, while he sings of war and bloodshed.

Go, do the weaklie womman inn mann's
geare :

And scond your mansion, if grymm war
come there. p. 211. v. 19.

I think, that there is a mistake in these lines: For what can be meant by *do the womman in man's gear*? The poet is speaking to effeminate courtiers; and he has before said, *Lordynges, avaunt*. I therefore cannot help thinking, that in the

original the lines run thus: not go do,
but

Go to, ye weaklie wommen inne mann's
geare,

And scond your mansions, if grymm
war come there.

In the second verse the word *scond* signifies to disgrace, from the Saxon *Scondæ*, *dedecus*: *Scondlic*, *turpis*, *ignominifous*. It was sometimes expressed *Scandæ*; whence comes the modern term *scandal*. By *scond your mansions* is, I imagine, meant *disgrace the house of your ancestors*.

We have a similar passage in p. 224. v. 300. where the poet is speaking of some recreant knights who did not act up to their duty in battle.

But manie knyghtes were men in wo-
mens geer.

Here however is a manifest transposition of the terms, which originally ran thus—

But manie knyghtes were women in
mens geer.

This may have been the blunder of a transcriber; but could never be the mistake
2 of

of the real composer of these poems. The author's meaning cannot be better explained, than from his own words above, and from another similar passage.

Thus Leofwine: O women cas'd in
stele. p. 242. v. 101.
i. e. *Women in mens gear.*

B I E T H A N K S.

The Lady BIRTHA being seized by the Danes fears every thing, which is bad; and desires them to take away her life, and she shall be indebted to them for ever: as that would free her from violence and dishonour.

Bie thanks I ever onne you wylle bestowe:

From ewbryce you mee pyghte, the worste of mortal woe.

p. 157. v. 1084.

It is plain, as the learned Editor of these poems has * observed, that bie thanks is a mistake for mie thanks.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's observations in the Errata.

Mie thankes I ever onne you wylle bestowe, &c.

B L E N T.

Sir Roger in the 3d Pastoral, p. 14. has been reasoning upon the fate of all things; which are mixed, and alike doomed to perish. The flower, he says, withers, as well as the weed:

See, the fwote flourette hathe noe fwote at alle.

i. e. hath no sweetness.

He then proceeds to man.

The cravent, warrioure, and the wyfe be blent:

Alyche to drie awaie wythe those theie dyd * bement.

Chatterton interprets the term blent, by *ceased, dead, no more*: but he is, I think,

* From the verb to mene, lugere: the same as moan.

O douchty child, maist wourthy to be menit.
Hence bemenit, and bement.

Gawin Douglas. p. 361. l. 2.
mistaken.

mistaken. He looked into Skinner or Kersey for information: and the word is certainly so rendered by those authors. But this is not the purport of it here. Blent in this passage plainly means mixed and blended: and it is derived from the Saxon *blendan*, *miscere*: from which * *blent* is a participle. The words *dyd be-ment* may be right, but they are not according to analogy. However the purport of the lines, if rendered paraphrastically, amounts to this—The Coward, the Brave, and the Wise, are blended together; alike to moulder away with those, whom they formerly bemoaned.

CUYEN and COYEN.

These seem to be two words of nearly the same purport, though differently exhibited.

The author here makes use of a participle in a very primitive sense, which he

* Blent: *blended*. Chaucer, T. v. 1194. See Gloss. by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

expresses

expresses both *cuyen* and *coyen* : or the difference in spelling may be owing to the transcriber. The former term occurs in the first Eclogue, p. 3. v. 35. where the farmer is made to say

Mie *cuyen* kine, mie bullockes stringe in
fyghte.

This *cuyen* is in the notes explained *tender* : but it is nothing like it. It is certainly the same in purport as the French * *coy* and *quoy* ; which signify *tame* and *quiet*. In short, it is a participle from the verb to *coy* : from whence is deduced *coyen* and † *cuyen* : just as from *drive* comes *driven* ; from *shrive* *shriven* : also *laden*, *graven*, *carven*, *mowen*, *laven*, *shapen*,

* *Cambinhoy* beres him *coy*, that fende's whelp.
Rob. Brunne. p. 281. l. 21.

This in the French is —

Kambÿn hoÿe se tient coÿe, ne volt eyder. See the notes. The meaning is that *Kambyn*, or *Cambin*, was tame and peaceable, and would not lend his assistance.

Coy—quiet, still, peaceable. Rob. Brunne Gloss.

Coy—quiet. Gloss. to G. Douglas.

† *Coy* and *coyen*—to quiet. Kersey.

from their respective verbs. We retain the verb now, but instead of to coy we express it to cow: by which is meant to keep under: to depress and tame. The word occurs often in ancient writers, from whom the original sense may indisputably be obtained.

* In worde nor dede nedeth him not
to *coie*.

† She kept him *coye*, and eke prive.

i. e. tame.

‡ He nist how best her hart for to *acoie*.

§ Then is your careless courage ac-
coyed. *i. e. cowed and tamed.*

By Cuyen kine we must understand the quiet and domestic part of the farmer's herds. These are opposed to others, which were more wild and unruly.

Mie cuyen kine, mie bullockés stringe
yn fyghte.

* Chaucer. R. R. prol. v. 71.

† R. R. v. 4257. Edition of Mr. Tyrwhitt.

‡ Tr. lib. 5. v. 782.

§ Spencer. Shepherd's Cal. Feb. p. 4.

That is—My tame cows, and my disorderly bulls and bullocks.

The word, when expressed coyen is of nearly the same analogy and purport.

Comme, and doe notte coyen bee.

p. 84. v. 125.

What we now exprefs by—*do not be very coy*, of old meant, *do not be afraid; do not be shy*. Coy and Coyen,—*nice, dainty, also shy, finical*. Kersey's Diction.

A P P L Y N G E S.

Mie tendre Applynges and embodye trees. Ec. i. p. 3. v. 33.

In the notes it is explained *grafted trees*: but very untruly. Applynge is a diminutive of apple. It is to be observed, that the fruit is often put for the tree, which bears it. Nothing is more common than to say, we plant a codling, or a fig: and cut down a crab, or a floe. Moreover all words terminating like the word

word in question betoken something diminutive and tender: and which has not arrived at maturity. This may be seen in the word codling before mentioned: also in yearling, firstling, kitling for catling, bantling, nursling, fondling, sappling, foundling. These are all diminutives, and relate to the most early part of life, and to that imbecillity, with which it is attended. An Appling is a young apple-tree: and *tendre* is for *tender*: when therefore the poet mentions—

Mie tendre Applynges and embodyde
trees,

he opposes his young and weak plants of late growth, to the trees which are strong and full bodied.

B L Y N N—stop, impede, cease.

Blynne your contekions, Chiefs.

P. 115. v. 533.

i. e. *cease your contests.*

Thus in Gawin Douglas the Sibyl says to Æneas,

Blyn not, blyn not, thou grete Trojan
Enee,
Of thy bedis, nor prayeris.

p. 164. l. 22.

The word is not * uncommon: and it occurs more than once in Rowley: particularly p. 8. v. 40.

The reynyng foemen—

Boun the merk fwerde, theie feche to
fraye theie blyn.

The term to boun signifies expedire: of which I shall say more hereafter. I have introduced the passage above, because there seems to have been a great blunder committed by the transcriber. Indeed, were we to take in a little more of the context, still more mistakes would be found: but I shall confine myself to that, which is before us. And, I think, nothing can shew more satisfactorily, than this passage, that Chatterton had an original before him, which he did not understand.

* In the Mss. poem at K. C. C.

Be stille, barn, quath themperour, blinne of the
forwe.

p. 5.

Whether the Mss. was at all impaired, and the words in some degree effaced: or whether it were owing to his ignorance, and carelessness, I know not: but thus much is certain, that the terms are sadly transposed, and changed, to the ruin of the context. We know, that to blynn was a verb, which signified to *stop, delay, and hinder*. But he has so perverted the passage, that it is not easy to make any sense of it. The natural order of the words was not *to fraie theie blynn*: but *the fraie to blynn*. And even here we have mistake upon mistake: for what he has rendered *fraie*, was undoubtedly *faie*, the foe. To *blynn the faie*, signifies *to stop the enemy*. King Richard is represented with his ships as just upon the point of landing. Upon this the Saracens run together, not to *stop* the contention and battle, but to begin it by opposing the enemy's landing: this is termed *blynning the faie*: for *faie* signifies *a foe*. The term was often so expressed from the Saxon *fa* of the same signification. *Fa*, inimicus. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. In the version

tion of Gawin Douglas, Nifus says to Euryalus—

Grete harm is done, ynuch of blude is
fched,

Throw out our *fayis* ane patent way is
led. p. 288. l. 49.

Again,

Amyd his *fais* rufchis redy to de.

p. 297. l. 7.

In another place Camertes tells the Rutilians, the Trojans are in number so few, that

The half of al our menzes grete and
fmal

Sal not fynd zounder ane *fa* to mache
with al. p. 416. l. 17.

The true meaning of Rowley was certainly this. The people on land, whom he represents as running together at the sight of the Christian navy, have recourse to their arms, and make a stand.

The reyning * foemen—

* Fomen—Enemies. Rob. Brunne.

Boun

Boun the merk fwerd, and * *feche* the faie
to blynn.

i. e. they draw out their deadly swords, and
endeavour to impede, and stop the land-
ing of the enemy.

It must not be objected, that in other places
Rowley makes use of the word *foe*: for the
terms are introduced in the same manner,
and used indifferently, by Gawin Douglas.
He mentions

How Camilla hir *fais* down can ding.
p. 287. l. 33.

He speaks afterwards of Turnus—

Turnus schakand his hede, said, thou fers
fo,

Thy fervent wourdis compt I not ane stro.
p. 445. l. 36.

Again—

Ane ald crag stane, &c. he

Hynt in hys hond & swakkit at his *fo*.

p. 445. l. 52.

* This word is expressed in Gower after the same
manner.

Whan Jason came the flees to *feche*.

i. e. to seek.

Conf. Amant. p. 105. The like to be observed in the
Mss. of K. C. C.

H

The

The text, if we were to take in the whole, would perhaps be found to be farther corrupted: but I shall not meddle with it. All my endeavour is to shew from the nature of these mistakes, that Chatterton had an original poem before him: and could not have been the author of these compositions. For this purpose the passage above is sufficient.

AMENGED, and AMENGES.

Orr seeſt the hatchedd ſtede
Ypraunceynge o'er the mede,
And neighe to be amenged the poyntedd
ſpeeres. Song to Ælla. p. 25. l. 1.

The meaning of the word is *mixed* or *mingled*: but it does not seem to make any sense here in this acceptation; and it is besides not to be reconciled with grammar. It moreover spoils the verse by being a trisyllable; and gives a time too much. What has been introduced as a participle, was originally a preposition; and expressed *amenge*, or *amenges*: which answered to the words *among* and *amongst* with us. It is a variation of the Saxon *amang* and *amænges*: and is by several writers introduced in nearly the same manner. We may find it often in the version of Gawin Douglas; particularly where Æneas is accompanying Evander.

Amangis

Amangis thame with sic carpyng and talk
Toward Evandrus pure lugeyng thay stalke.

L. 8. p. 224. l. 35.

The word therefore seems to be the preposition, amenge or amenges; but altered by the transcriber to a participle. The meaning of the passage in Rowley is, that the * stede was seen to prance and neigh to be *amongst* the pointed spears.

We have like authority for the word in another part of the same version. Virgil is speaking of the Rutilians, who were found sleeping in their camp at night: *inter lora rotasque*: which is thus translated.

The men ligging the hames about thare nek;
Or than *amangis* the quhelis and the thetis.

p. 287. l. 6.

The word occurs in another place: where it does not seem to be truly represented: and the text appears to be so corrupted, that it may not be easy to restore it. What I mention is at the beginning of the Storie concerning William Canynge.

Anente a brooklette, as I laie reclyned,
Lifteynge to heare the water glyde alonge,
Myndynge how thorowe the grene mees yt
wyn'd,
Awhilst the cavys respons'd ytts mot-
tring songe,

* Of the term *hatched* I shall speak hereafter.

At dystaunt ryfyng Avonne to he sped,
 Amenged wyth ryfyng hylles dyd shewe yts
 head. p. 278.

The transcriber seems to have taken some liberties here, either from not having truly read, or not perfectly understood, the original. We meet with *rising* Avon joined with *rising* hills, which could not well be the words, or meaning of the original composer. And when something is said to *shew its head*, it is not easy to find out, what is referred to: for there seems to be a verb without a nominative case. How the lines stood at first may be difficult to determine. If I might venture a conjecture or two, I should think that for *dystaunt* we should read *distaunce*: and for *amenged* with *ryfyng* hylles, which contains an awkward repetition, we should put—wyth *ryfen*, or *riven*, hilles: by this is meant—surrounded with *interrupted* and *broken* hills, in the midst of the highland cliffs, the river was seen to rise. *Amenged* certainly signifies mixed, and surrounded. Robert of Gloucester expresses it *ymenged*: and speaking of the ancient Britons, he says

Thus were heo in werre and wo ymenged
 by the Saxones. p. 278. l. 1.

It occurs in another place—

Tho

Tho heo were thorg out * ymenged with
fwerd and with mace. p. 48. l. 21.

But there is still some farther mistake: for in the last line something is predicated: and it is not clear of whom or what it is spoken. I should therefore read the two last lines in the following manner. The poet has mentioned his situation—Anente a brooklette as I lay reclined: and given an account of the prospect, which was afforded him.

At distaunce rising Avonne, as he sped,
Ameng'd with ryfen hilles dyd shewe his
head.

To rive: discerpere, frangere. Lye's Etymolog.

These liberties in correcting the text may perhaps be thought too great to be consistent with true criticism. But there is reason to think, that the transcriber has taken as great, and the remedy must be adequate to the disease.

A L M E R.

The poet, in the truly excellent ballade of Charity, describes a person overtaken by a

* Y menged five ymenged, vel ymengd: *mingled*.
Gloss. to Rob. Glocester.

Menge: mingle, mix. Gloss. to Rob. Brunne.

H 3

fudden

sudden storm, whom he stiles an *Almer*. It is not impossible, but that there might have been such a word to denote an *asker of almes*: but it is contrary to analogy: and I think improbable. After a noble description of the clouds gathering, and the approaching of the tempest, the person spoken of is thus introduced.

Beneathe an holme, faste by a pathwaie side,
Which dide unto Seyncte Godwine's co-
vent lede :

A hapless pilgrim moneynge did abide,
Pore in his view, ungentle in his wede.
Longe bretful of the miseries of neede.
Where from the hail-stone could the *Almer*
flie ?

He had no housen there, ne anie covent nie.

p. 204. v. 15.

He is again mentioned by the same title, v. 76. We find that the person, thus denominated, is spoken of above as a pilgrim: and when afterwards the Abbot of St. Godwin appears, and this person applies to him, we read agreeably to what preceded—

An almes, fir prieste, the droppynge *pilgrim*
saide.

Now we know, that a person, who had been upon a pilgrimage, was stiled a *Palmer*: It was a word in a manner synonymous with
that

that of Pilgrim. In the vision of Pierce Plowman a person is introduced, who purposes setting out upon one of these holy expeditions then in vogue. He accordingly says—

—Hang mi hoper at mi hals in stede of a
sripe,
A bushel of bread-corn bring me therein,
For I wil sowe it my selfe, and sith will I
wend
To *Pilgrimages*, as * *Palmer*s do, pardon to
have. p. 31. b.

We may, I think, be assured, that this was the true reading in the two places above. Likewise what is expressed *bailstone*, was, I believe, *bailstorm*. In consequence of which, I should imagine, that the lines at first were after this manner.

Where from the *bailstorm* could the *Palmer*
flie?

Instead of

Where from the *bailstone* could the *Almer*
flie?

Again—

And from the pathwaie side then turned hee,
Where the poor *Palmer* laie beneath the
holmen tree.

* Palmer, a pilgrim, that travels to visit holy places.
Kersey's Dict.

Instead of the poor *Almer*. So far am I from supposing that this youth could have been the author of this excellent composition, that I am persuaded, he did not understand the context. And as he had an ancient and impaired manuscript before him, he had not sagacity to supply the deficiencies, wherever such happened. Yet he acted for the best, as we find in the present instance, where he introduced Almer for Palmer, thinking that it related to almes.

B R E T F U L.

Longe bretful of the miseries of neede.

This in the notes is interpreted *filled with*; and by * Skinner—*top-full*: all which seems to be mere surmise. We find the word occur in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he is describing a Fryar Preacher, to whose order he had no great regard.

A greet churl & a grum, growen as a tonne,
With a face so fat, and as a ful bleddere
Blewen *bretful* of breth, and as a bagge
honed.

The word is to be found also in the Prologue of Chaucer, where he is describing a Pardoner.

* See also Kersey. Bretful, *top-full*.

* His wallet lay beforne him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardon, come from Rome al
 hote. v. 686.

It is also introduced in the Knight's Tale.

A mantelet upon his shouldres hanging
Bretful of rubies red, as fire sparkling.
 v. 2166.

What is the true etymology of the word I cannot pretend to determine. It may possibly be deducible from † breed and bred, which answer to the Latin, *latus* — *broad*. *Bret-ful* may signify *latè oppletus*, i. e. *filled the whole breadth*; and be analogous to *brim-full*: but of this I cannot speak with any certainty.

CHERISAUNEI.

Some *cherisaunei* 'tys to gentle mynde.

P. 75. v. 1.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his usual judgement has restored the original reading: which was certainly, as he represents it.

Some *cherisaunce it is to* gentle mynde.

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition.

† Brede, *breadth*. Gloss. to Robert of Gloucester. The same to be found in Robert of Brunne. Hence perhaps —bredful and bretful,

In

In respect to the word itself, it is borrowed from the French : and to be found in Chaucer and other writers. In this instance before us, as in many others, the mode of error will shew, from whom the mistake proceeded : and we may be assured, that it could not have originated in the author of the work ; but in the transcriber. This is not an oversight, and slip of the pen. There is design and industry in this variation ; however ill conducted and misapplied. The person, with whom the blunder began, must have had a *Miss*. before him ; which he could not perfectly read and copy : as it was probably impaired with age ; and the letters not clearly defined. He has in consequence of this left out by mistake the letter *c* in *cherifaunce* ; and rendered it *cherifaune*. In the next place he has added to this mistake by taking the initial *i* from *it is* ; and joining it, as final, to the word, which is antecedent. By these means it is made *cherifaunei*. Then, with a seeming regard to accuracy he puts the mark of an aphæresis to the word, which he had abbreviated, and expresses it *'tys*. For as he has unnecessarily added a syllable in one place ; he is forced to take it away in another for the sake of the verse. Now, as I before said, we have in this example all the misconception of a bad critic ; who has been
guilty

guilty of a complication of mistakes. Had the real author left out a letter in the manner above; he would upon observing his omission have inserted it at once. He must have been apprised of his own purpose; and been acquainted with the terms, which he used. But the transcriber was not master of them: he did not know their intrinsic worth; nor even the elements, of which they were composed. He therefore by trying to remedy one mistake has run into others; and ruined, what he would amend. In short I must recur to my original postulatam, that every author must know his own meaning; and his own terms, and diction. But Chatterton was by no means a judge of these before us; as is evident from his mistakes. We see plainly in many instances, that he was perplexed, and at a loss to find out the purport of the subject matter: which could never be the case of a real composer. The mistake above is very similar to others, which have preceded: particularly to that about fraying they blynn; instead of blynning the fraie, or faie: a mistake, of which the true author of the poem could not have been guilty. The very terms, which we use, when we say, thus and thus was the original reading, plainly intimate, that there was an original work; not an original by Chatterton, who
was

was guilty of these misconceptions; but of a writer far prior. Thus in the list of the errata, we are referred to the original (that is, *the author's*) reading. But this is always contrary to the reading of Chatterton. What is then the natural inference to be made? certainly—that Chatterton was not the author. He was the very person, who perverted and confounded the original. He must therefore have been only a transcriber, and commentator. The original reading was prior to his mistakes, and by another hand. The learned Editor of Rowley's poems styles them *the evident mistakes of the transcriber*. Of these mistakes the transcriber would never have been guilty, if he had possessed a fiftieth part of the learning and sagacity of the Editor: with whom I agree in every thing: saving only that I am obliged to make this inference from the same premises, viz. that these mistakes prove this young man to have been *merely* a transcriber, and that the author was a different person.

B E S T O I K E R R E.

No, bestoikerre, I wylle go. p. 82. v. 91.

No, foule bestoykerre, I wylle rende the
ayre. p. 154. v. 1064.

Chatterton seems to have mistaken the composition

position of this word, and out of the old ~~wo~~ (or w) to have formed two letters, t and o. Hence instead of the true term beswicerre or beswikerre he has idly expressed it bestoikerre. The word, when truly rendered, signifies *a deceiver*; from the Saxon berpīc, *fraus*; and berpīcan, *illicere, fallere*. See Lye and Manning's Dict. Gower speaks of the Sirens, as singing in notes

Of fuche measure, of fuche musycke,
Wherof the shippes they (did) beswyke.

Confess. Am. l. i. p. 10. b.

It occurs in the same sense in the Saxon Chronicle. *ƿ nouþer ƿculde berpīcan oþer*. See Hickes. Thesaur. v. i. p. 158. The word simply was swyke: the preceding *be* is merely the old Saxon prefix; which we still retain in many words; such as becalmed, benighted, belimed, bespoken, betoken. The word is found in Robert of Gloucester. Anlaf says to King Athelstan, who wondered, that he did not disclose a secret to him—

Syre, he seyde, ych was yfuore to hym ar
to the,

And gyf ych adde hym bysuyke, the wors
thou wost leve me. p. 272. l. ult.

It occurs also simply. Suyke, a *traitor, seducer*. Suykedhede, *treachery*. Suykedom, *treachery*. Gloss. *ibid*.

It

It is plain from what has preceded, that this young man could not read the characters, with which he was engaged. The old black letter *eo*, having its first stroke elevated above the line, made him conclude, that the former part was a *£* : and the latter, not differing at all from an *o*, determined him in his notion. It could not be from Skinner, that he was led into the mistake : for there the letters are too well defined ; and he was too well acquainted with the common black letter to have been deceived. The elements there could not have afforded room for this deception. It was from a *Mss.* that he was misled ; where the characters are more confused, and of a more antique cast. Of this particular letter many examples may be seen in *Hickes's Thesaurus* : especially v. 1. p. 144. In the first Editions of *Caxton*, and in other black letter books, as low down as *Spencer's Shepherd's Calendar*, 1591 : we may see it expressed much after the same manner, as we find it in *Mss. eo*. This in an old writing, impaired by time, might easily be taken for *to* : especially if the strokes were not well defined, nor the letters separated, as they are now a days. For the characters in old writings are often brought so very near, and are so blended with one another, that it requires much use, and a distinguishing eye, to decipher

cipher them. It above all things requires a competent knowledge in the language which they transmit. But of this Chatterton was confessedly destitute.

A M E N U S E D.

It is said, upon the Christian fleet approaching towards the Holy Land—

The *amenused* nationnes be aston.

p. 6. v. 5.

In the notes it is interpreted—*the diminished or lessened*. But how could these nations be lessened or diminished, before they were defeated, or even attacked? The word is not truly expressed; and the meaning of it is very different. It signifies the *accursed*, the *abominable* nations; alluding to the infidel Saracens; whom those of the Crusade held in detestation. By this term are denoted all such as lie under a curse, and are excommunicated. By Robert of Gloucester it is truly expressed—*amanased*, and *amanfed*: and it occurs in that writer more than once. Speaking of Thomas Becket he tells us,—

He amanfede all thulke, that such unrize
had ido,

To the church of Canterbury, & the King
ycrowned so.

p. 474. l. 21.

The proud Archbishop, it seems, cursed and excommunicated all those, who had done, *unrizt*, that is, *injustice*, to the See of Canterbury, and usurped his office in crowning King Henry the Second. These were the Archbishop of York; the Bishop of Salisbury; and the Bishop of Exeter.

There are two words, which the transcriber has strangely confounded. The first is, that concerning which we are now treating. It comes from the Saxon *Amanruman*, excommunicare: and is to be found in many old writers. The other, *amenufed*, signifies, as he truly supposes, to *lessen*; and is derived from the French *amenuiser*, to *diminish*. Of this I shall speak hereafter.

It is to be observed, that our early writers often laid the stress, or accent, very differently from what we do now. From not attending to this we are apt to think their verse more rough and hobbling, than in reality it is. The word *nationnes* in the quotation above, seems to be lengthened to four syllables, and to have the accent upon the penultima. From hence I am inclined to think, that the true reading of the word in question, was neither *amenufed*, nor *amanafed*; but abbreviated *amanfed*. This the transcriber did not understand, and altered it to another word; for which indeed he had some authority: but it was to the detriment of the author's meaning.

Amanfy,

Amanfy, *curse*. Amanfeth, *curseth*: *excommunicateth*. Amanfed, *cursed*. Amanafed, *excommunicated*. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester. It is sometimes found abbreviated — mansed, as in the Vision of Pierce Plowman.

By mary, quoth a *mansed* priest of the
march of Ireland

I count no more conscience, by so I catch silver,
Than I do to drink a draught of good ale :
And so sayde sixty of the same contrey.

p. 115.

From hence it is plain, that the amanafed, or amanfed nations were the infidel Saracens.

If what I have supposed, be true, that by the amanafed, or amanfed, nations, was signified the accursed race ; then we may see the process of error in this young man. As he did not know the purport of the term, he had recourse to Skinner's Etymologicum ; or to Kersey : but no such word was to be found in either of them. However a word not very unlike in sound, *amenufed*, does occur in both ; and betokens, *diminished*. *Amenufed*, *diminutus*. Skinner. *Amenufed*, *diminished* or *lessened*. Kersey. This he took for granted was the very term, of which he was in quest : and accordingly altered *amanafed* to *amenufed*, and explained it by *diminished*. But this seems to prove almost to a demonstration, that he had a Miss. before him : and consequently was merely a transcriber.

I

CORVEN

CORVEN, YCORVEN, YCORN,
DECORN.

This gentleness doth corven them foe grete.
p. 79. v. 56.

Dyd so ycorvenn everrie shape to joie.
p. 42. v. 170.

Onn mie longe shielde ycorn thie name
should find. p. 102. v. 170.

It is interpreted—*mold*: but it signifies to frame and fashion by cutting: Ang. to *carve*, from the Saxon *ceoppan*. It is to be found in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he says,

I femed upon that hous, & yerne theron
loked,
Whow the pileres weren ypaint & * pulched
ful clene,
And quaintly *ycorven*.

He mentions the Chapter house—

Corven and covered & queyntelych entayled.

Sometimes the word is used for to cut in general.

He vel doun as a gret ok, that beneathe
ycorve were.

Rob. of Glouc. p. 208. l. 14.

* Polished.

i. e. *He*

i. e. *He fel down as a great oak, that was cut beneath.*

It is sometimes expressed Decorn; which signifies very much carved: for *de* in composition is often intensive. It is said by Robert of Gloucester—p. 529. l. 21.

—Sir Gilebert the Marschal
Defouled was thoru misfauntre & *debrused* al,
And deide.

Debrusede, five *debrused*, — *sadly bruised*:
all bruised, — *mightily crushed*. Gloss. to Rob.
of Gloucester.

B R E M E.

To ken fyke large a fleet, fyke fyne, * fyke
breme. p. 6. v. 6.

This word by the transcriber is interpreted *strong*: but it has no relation to *strength*. On the contrary it denotes any thing, which makes a fine and beautiful appearance: also any thing terrible and alarming. Hence *breme* winter is mentioned by Spencer: and in the poem of William and the Werwolf, the term is very frequent. We accordingly read of—

* This term occurs often in Gawin Douglas, expressed sic, fik, and sich.

Lat us beseik for peace at sic distres. p. 177. l. 32.

Truist in na wise that this my werk be sich. p. 7. l. 48.

a *breme* number of bestes : a *breme* wild bere :
breme dedus, or deeds : *breme*, battle.

—To abate the hoste of that *breme* Duke.
p. 18.

Be that time was that barn ful *breme* of
his age. p. 61.

It is an intire Saxon word without any alteration, and expressed *bpeme*. By this was signified—*solennis, clarus, notabilis*. Lye and Manning. Sax. Dict.

This leads me to consider another passage, which this person has equally mistaken. Godwin is telling his son Harold, that he knows him to be noble and brave ; but fears, that he is too much led by appearances.

And that thie rede bee ofte borne down bie
breme. p. 177. v. 12.

Here *breme* is introduced as a substantive ; and agreably with the interpretation given before, it is rendered strength. But it relates here, as it did above, to something fine, and specious. Godwin therefore, when he has assured his son of his good opinion, still intimates, that he is too much a Courtier ; and that his *rede* or understanding, is often borne down by the magnificence of King Edward. The answer of Harold shews, that this is the meaning.

—— his Normans know,
I make no compheers of the themrynge
trayne.

That is—so far am I from being misled by
the gaudy appearance of the King and his
Courtiers, that I have made no acquaint-
with the tinsel tribe.

In an ancient song, quoted by Mr. Whar-
ton, a lover speaks of his mistress as a beau-
tiful bird—

That brid so *breme* in * bower.
i. e. so *fine* and *exquisite*.

In another place mention is made of the season,
When Briddes singeth *breme*.

In none of these instances is there any re-
ference to strength.

T H E and T H E I E.

The Poet speaking of Alfwold, one of those,
who at the Battle of Hastings led on the
bands from Bristol, says a great deal in his
praise, and to the honour of those, whom he
commanded.

O Alfwolde, saie, how shalle I singe of thee,
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

p. 253. v. 321.

* P. 26.

He adds farther—

Like thee their leader eche Bristowyanne
foughte, &c.

* * * * *

Fore theie, like thee that daie bewrecke
ywroughte.

He then intimates, that of the Normans slain
by them, one third fell by the hand of Alf-
wolde.

Did thirtie Normans falle upon the grounde,
Full half a score from *thee* and *theie* receive
their fatale wounde. v. 329.

All the preceding stanzas end with an Alex-
andrine, which consists of twelve feet: but
this contrary to all rule consists of fourteen.
And the supernumerary words in the middle
(*and theie*) entirely ruin the rythm of the
verse. The lines, I imagine, stood originally
thus: the former being a question.

Did thirtie Normannes falle upon the
grounde?

Full half a score from *thee* received their
fatale wounde.

It may be said, that the address is not only
to Alf wolde, but to the Bristowans in ge-
neral: and that the meaning of the poet is,
that if at any time thirty Normans fell in
the battle, one third were killed by the peo-
ple from Bristol. This may be the case, but
the

the verse is still wrong, and must then be rectified in the manner following —

Like thee their leader, each Bristowyan
foughte, &c.

* * * * *

Did thirtie Normannes fall upon the
grounde?

Full half a score from them receiv'd their
fatale wound.

The original reading may possibly be in some degree uncertain : but that the verse is faulty, I think, can admit of no doubt. The particle *and*, with either *thee*, or *thie*, must be left out.

O M I S S I O N.

I have mentioned, that every stanza ended with an * Alexandrine : and that it uniformly consisted of twelve syllables. But there is an exception to this, which I imagine has arisen from the inadvertency of the transcriber. Gyrth, at the Battle before mentioned, goes forth with a small number of men, and makes an attack upon the advanced guard of the Normans. And he tells Tankerville, who had wished him not to be so eager to engage,

* I mean only in the first part of the second poem. The other parts vary.

I 4

that

that he despises the whole power of his Duke: and then adds,

Here single onlie these to all thie crewe
Shall shewe what Englysh handes and
heartes can doe. p. 240. v. 59.

The sense is certainly compleat, as the lines here stand: yet the verse manifestly shews, that something is still wanting: and the last verse should undoubtedly be in the manner following.

—— These to all thie crewe
Shall shewe, what Englysh handes and
Englysh heartes can doe.

BURLIE BROND—BETRASSED.

Am I *betraffed*? fyke shulde mie *burlie
bronde*

Depeyncte the wronges on hym, from
whom I bore. p. 177. v. 7.

Chatterton in his notes upon *burlie bronde* seems to be quite wide of the purport of these terms. There cannot be a stronger instance of his ignorance. But as the preceding word *betraffed* may perhaps appear suspicious, and create prejudice; I will bring some authorities in its favour, before I advance any farther. *Betraffed* is provincial for *betrayed*; and seems to have been used in different parts
of

of the kingdom. Æneas is described by Virgil as looking at a painted representation of the Thracian camp, where Rhesus was slain : which is thus described by Gawin Douglas.

—— not fer thence saw he quhare
The quhite tentis of Refus evill kep
Betrafit were. L. 1. p. 27. l. 40.

One chapter in the historical poem of William Wallace begins thus.—How Wallace was betrafit by Schir Johne Menteith, &c.

B. 12. p. 176.

Again—

For covetise Menteith upon fals wayis
Betrafit Wallace. B. 12. p. 174. b.

Betrafit : *betrayed*. Gloss. to Gawin Douglas.

In the poem of Ælla it is found expressed betraisted :

Oh ! heaven, and earthe ! what is itt I do
heare ?

Am I betraisted ?

It is found much in the same manner, though more simply expressed, in the story of William and the Werwolf.

— Whan these were told,
How the two trattes, that William would
have *traysted*. p. 71.

* P. 151. v. 1030.

Again—

Again—

Has that untrew traytour *traysted* me nouth.

P. 31.

I come now to the terms *burlie brand*, which the transcriber has so greatly mistaken. He interprets *burlie*, *fury*: by which I conjecture, that he takes *brond* for an adjective; and supposes it to signify *burning*. According to him the sense of the passage is—*My burning fury shall witness my wrongs*. But *bronde* is a † *sword*: and *burlie* denotes any thing *large*, and *unwieldy*. It is often applied to men. *Burly*, *obesus*, *corpulentus*. Lye's Etym. That *brond*, or *brand*, was used for a *sword*, may be shewn from many examples; particularly from the version of Gawin Douglas.

The bytand *brand* uphenit heppit he,
And can resist, and stynt the grete Ene.

L. 10. p. 348. l. 31.

Let me stand to my chance. I tak on hand
For to dereyne this matter wyth thys brand.

p. 436. l. 41.

But the authority most to my purpose is to be found in the poem of Blind Harry upon Sir William Wallace, before mentioned. Among the accoutrements of this hero are mentioned—

† Brand, gladium denotat. Lye.

Ane gude girdell, & fyne ane *burlie brand*.

B. 8. p. 104.

The same is mentioned in the testament of Cressyde annexed to the Troilus of Chaucer.

A burlie brande about his middle he bare.

v. 180.

It was a term applicable to any thing large and overgrown : hence in the storie of William Wallace the poet upon an occasion says of him—

Wallace returnit besyde ane buirle aik.

p. 46. l. 2.

i. e. *a large oak*.

The like appears in the original Ballad concerning the Battle of Otterburn, commonly called Chevy Chace. The word is in the copy published by Hearne expressed brylly by mistake for byrly. The poet is speaking of the *doughetie Douglas*—

and commyng with him a myghtte
meany

Both with spear *byrly* and *brand*.

(See Guillialm Neubrigeus, by Hearne—Preface, p. lxxxiii.) By this is meant both with *burly spear and brand* : and what is meant by a burly spear may be known by a description given of it in another place.

With

With suar spears off myghtte tre the cum
in on every fyde.

Again—

He set uppone the lorde Perse a dynt, that
was fulle soar

With a suar spear of a myghtte tre.

i. e. a large and *burly* spear.

The passage in Rowley has not only been misinterpreted by the transcriber; but not truly expressed. In the first verse there is a syllable too much: and the original probably run thus.—

Am I *betrafs'd*: fyke shulde mie burlie
bronde, &c.

The purport of it amounts to this. *Am I betrayed?* fyke. *i. e.* *assuredly my mighty sword* shall imprint my wrongs in wounds, upon him, from whom I have received them.

From the authorities above we may perceive the true meaning of the words in question. And we may see farther, how little acquainted Chatterton must have been with historians and etymologists: and how casually and superficially he must have looked into * Skinner. For this person explains *burlie brand* by *magnus ensis*. Had he got the terms

* He probably applied to Kersey, who mentions the terms in both acceptations.

from this writer, he would at the same time have borrowed the purport of them: of which we find him utterly ignorant. This is another instance out of many, where the lines contain very good sense; though the supposed author knew nothing of the matter. But as it is manifest, that he did not understand the context; so it is equally plain, that he could not have been the real composer. On the contrary, he had an original before him, from which he transcribed.

ADVENTAYLE and BORNE.

An Herald is introduced, as speaking of himself, and proclaiming his office at a tournament.

I sonne of honnoure, spencer of her joies,
Must swythen goe to yeve the speeres a-
rounde.

Wythe *advantayle* and *borne* I meynthe em-
ploie, &c. p. 29. v. 11.

It occurs more than once in Rowley: and is exhibited much in the same manner.

Upon the Normannes brazen adventayle.
p. 271. v. 681.

Peers'd

Peers'd thro hys adventayle & skyrts of
 * lare. p. 271. v. 686.

In the notes adventayle is interpreted *armer*, and borne, *burnish*. In the passage above there seem to be several mistakes. The transcriber has expressed the former word with a d, adventayle, and advantayle: in which if there be any propriety, he was, I believe, little aware of it. The true spelling is supposed to be *aventayle*, from the French *avant*. It was some part of a suit of armour, which projected: and this might have been known from Skinner. Aventaile: credo a Franco-Gallico jam obsoleto, aventail; prætentura ferrea: προσεπνιδιον: ab adverbio—avant. A like account is afforded by Du Cange: but neither of them define precisely, what piece of armour it was. However from the accounts, which are uniformly given of it, we may be assured, that it was something which stood forward; and is therefore supposed by

* Lare is provincial for leather, and is sometimes expressed *lere* and *lire*. The meaning of the passage is, that some person pierced through this piece of armour and the leather, with which it was skirted and lined. There is a passage exactly parallel in the storie of William Wallace.

Upon the craig with his sword hes him tane,
 Throw brane and lyre in sunder break the bane.

B. iii. p. 14.

Du

Du Cange to be—*anterior armaturæ pars*. In the Mss. of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of the hero seizing upon a person, with whom he is engaged in fight, which circumstance is thus described.

William thant witli by the aventayle him
hente

To have with his swerd swapped of his
heade. P. 54.

We find, that he laid hold of a particular part of the armour ; such as most facilitated his cutting off the head of his enemy. This therefore must have been part of the helmet : and that part especially, which was most prominent, and liable to be seized upon : and this I take to have been the beaver. There were several sorts of helmets of different denominations : and I imagine, that one of them was stiled an *aventaile* or *adventaile*, from a moveable beaver, which was made to slide up and down. The name was given from its affording, when the beaver was up, an opening to the air for respiration : and seems to have been derived, not from *avant*, but from *ad* and *ventus*, or *ventilo* : from whence was formed the French word *aventail*. Du Cange quotes from Rymer's *Fœd.* an order, Tom. 8. p. 384. *Tredecim loricas, quinque Aventailles, quadraginta arcus, &c.* The beaver of an helmet projected beyond
the

the helm; and stood hollow: so that it gave an opportunity for a person to lay hold of it; and to force the head of his enemy downward. From hence I am induced to think, that an adventail was properly that fore part of the helmet, the beaver, but which often gave name to the whole. When this beaver was put up, it afforded an opening to breathe more freely, and to receive fresh air; which opening was from thence stiled a *ventail*, from *ventilo*. When Æneas was healed of his wound by Iapis, and was returning completely armed to battle, he embraced his son, who stood by his side, and kissed him: which is thus described by Gawin Douglas.

Ascanus zounge tendirly the ilk place
 With all his harnes belappit dyd embrace,
 And throw his helmes *ventall* a lytell we
 Him kissit. p. 425. l. 18.

It is expressed after the same manner in an ancient poem quoted by Mr. Wharton. *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, v. 1. p. 163.

Upon his shoulders a shelde of stele,
 With the lybardes painted wele.
 And helme he had of ryche entayle,
 Trusty and trewe was his *ventayle*.

From *Hist. of Richard Cœur de Lyon*.

There

There is a passage in the Interlude of Ælla, where the adventaile is mentioned in conjunction with the helmet.

Who haveth trodden downe the *adventayle*,
And tore the heaulmes from heades of
myckle myghte. p. 109. v. 469.

Ventale or ventall, a *vent hole*, and *breathing part of an helmet*: a Fr. *ventaille*. Gloss. to Gavin Douglas.

Hence I imagine, that the beaver, and the helmet itself had the name of adventail and aventail, from being constructed in such a manner, as to afford occasionally such an opening.

B O R N E.

By this word is signified a kind of gorget or breast-plate; expressed more commonly burn, and byrn; from the byrna of the Saxons. Bypna, lorica. Sax. Dict. In the laws of King Athelstan, mention is made of a person's having a *burn* and helm. And ðeah he bezȳtuð, ꝥ he hæbbe bȳrn 7 helm, &c. c. 72. In the laws also of King Ina, a *burn* and sword are spoken of, c. 55. It was sometimes expressed *bryne*, and *brynia*. Brynia, *lorica*: hringa brynia, *lorica annulis ferreis concatenata*. Olai Verelii Lex. Sueo-Goth. It is taken

K

notice

notice of by Du Cange, as it is differently exhibited. Brunea, brunia, bronía, *lorica*. Gloss. Lat. Theotisc. *thorax, militare ornamentum, lorica*. He also expresses it byrnan and byrn. Turnus is described in the Scottish version of the *Æneis*, as arming himself in the following manner.

He clethis him with his scheild & femys bald,
He claspis his gilt habirihone thrinfald,
He in his breistplait strang, and his *birnye*
Ane fouir sward beltis law down by his the.

p. 230. l. 42.

Among the English it seems to have been called burn: and in the poem, from whence I have quoted the passage, it appears to have denoted — *militare ornamentum*: probably something like a gorget; with which the Heralds presented the Knights, at the same time, that they gave them their helmets and spears.

I sonne of honnour spencer of her joyes,
Must sythen goe to yeve the speeres a-
rounde,
Wyth adventayle & borne. I * meynthe
emploie,
Who without me would fall unto the
ground.

So

* This word is uncommon, and may, like several more, create unnecessary scruples in the minds of those, who
are

So it should be stopt. After the Herald had mentioned, that he was to present to the Knights, what belonged to them; he magnifies his own office; and speaks of himself as the dispenser of all honour. *I*, says he, *employ many, who without me would sink to nothing*. In short, he intimates, that all honours, and badges of honour, come through the hands of the herald: which seems to have been not at all understood by the transcriber.

Such, I imagine, is the purport of the two words in question, *adventaile* and *borne*. By the former of these is meant, an helmet with a sliding bever: by the others a kind of *cuirass* or *gorget*: which two by the transcriber have been interpreted *armer* and *burnish*.

D O L E.

By a dole is meant, a *part*, *lot*, or *portion*. The Poet in the story of his friend William Canynge mentions all his virtues from the earliest part of his life. But having

are not very conversant in ancient compositions. It signifies *many*; and is to be found in the Visions of the Ploughman.

For ere I have breade a meale of, mote I swete;
And ere the comen have corne inough, *mant* cold
morning.

p. 68. b. l. 16.

occasion to introduce some account of his father and brother, he is obliged to speak of them in a far less favourable manner. Canynge was all generosity: but of the brother and father he seems to say—*The Lord have mercy upon them: while they lived, they were devoted to gain.* This he expresses in the following manner.

He had a father (Jesús rest hys soule)
 Who loved money, as hys charie joie.
 He had a broder (happie be hys dole)
 Yn mynde & boddie hys own fadre's
 boie. p. 284. v. 115.

This was certainly the original reading; but the transcriber not knowing the purport of the third line, has altered that part, which is put in a parenthesis, and introduced the word *manne*. *Happie manne be's dole*. By this insertion he has ruined the verse, as well as the purport of the line. By—*happy be his dole*—is meant—*Peace to his ashes. Happy be his portion in the other world.* This, I think, is very plain. But what sense can be made of—*Happy man be his dole*, is past my comprehension. From hence it appears farther manifest, that the transcriber sometimes took liberties with the text.

KEPPENED,

K E P P E N E D.

A *keppened* poyntelle restyngge at eche lyne.

Letter to Canynge, p. 73. v. 44.

To this no interpretation is given; but it signifies *careful, elaborate*. In Robert of Gloucester—*kepte*, is explained *cared*: from *kepe* to *care*. See Gloss. This author, speaking of the delicacy and good-breeding, which was supposed to prevail in the court of King Arthur, tells us—

Wymmen ne *kepte* of no Kyngt, as in
druery. p. 191. v. 13.

i. e. took no notice, or care, of any Knight.

P O Y N T E L L E.

This word in the notes is explained by a *pen*, *metaphorically used for a muse or genius*. The transcriber took it from Skinner. Poyntell exp. *a writing pen*. But this does not seem to be the meaning in the passage before us: for how can it be said, that a careful *pen*, or a *muse* and *genius*, rested at each line? By poyntell is undoubtedly meant something scrupulously nice and exact; analogous to puncto and punctilio now in use. The words

K 3

relate

relate to unnecessary care in writing and composing: by which each line was made to terminate at a point, without proper regard to the sense. Some light may be obtained from Du Fresne's Gloss. in the article—*De puncto ad punctum*. Phrasis Gallica *de point en point*; accurate, diligenter, summâ cura: in litteris Philippi VI. Reg. Franc. an. 1339, &c. *ipfas ordinationes et litteras Regis supradictas de puncto in punctum observantes*. He mentions letters of Henry the Sixth of England—*observari de puncto ad punctum*. *De puncto ad punctum totum scribimus præsens scriptum*. *Pointelle* seems to have been formed from *punctillum*, a diminutive from *punctum*: whence came likewise the term *punctilio*: It seems often to signify something, which suited well, and was happily adapted: something, that in composition corresponded with great nicety. In the Crede of Pierce Plowman mention is made of a Cloyster in an Abby, which was finely built—

And ypaved with poyntill, ich point after
other.

Every figured stone was made exactly to correspond with the others. Such compositions seem to have been stiled *Point Devise*, according to Skinner. *Point Devise, cujus membra exactâ*

exactâ et geometricâ proportione constructa et conformata sunt.

Gawin Douglas speaking in a particular passage of the Trojans, describes them—

In popill tre branches dycht at poynt.

p. 132. l. 2.

In the Glossary the terms *at poynt* are interpreted *exactly, fitly*.

In like manner, what the poet stiles—

To put to poynt and ordinance—

p. 466. l. 24.

Is rendered in the same Glossary—to *put in perfect order*.

In short, there were two words expressed nearly the same; but of a quite different purport and original. The one, *pointel*, came I imagine from the Latin *penicillus*, or *penicillum* (quasi *penicle*) and these from * *penis* (*νεῖκος*) *cauda*. This denoted a hair *pencil* or painters *brush*. The other, *poin-til* or *poinctel*, was derived from *pungo*, *punctum punctillum*; and signified a *nice point* or *mark*; and with a greater latitude, *neatness*, *order*, and *exactness*. This is the *keppened poyntelle* mentioned above: which had no relation to a *pen*: much less to a *musé* and *genius*.

* See Pompeius Festus: and other Etymologists.

A L Y S E.

Somme drybblette share you should to yatte
alyse. P. 72. v. 29.

The word is interpreted very truly—*allow*: but as it comes under different acceptations, and no authority is brought for its being at all used, I will take some notice of it: and this I do more readily, as the very existence of such a word may be doubted. The true history of it is this. It comes from the Saxon *lyrre* (*lisse*) which among other significations has these: * *cessatio*, *permissio*, *gratia*, favor. Hence—*land to lyrrun*, *land for a property, or grant*. See Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. - Hence came the words, *lyran*, *solvere*; *redimere*: and *lyrand*, *redemptio*. Hence also the very word in question—*alyran*, *to alyse*; i. e. *liberare*, *solvere*. *ibid.* The word we find comes from the Saxon *lyrre*, favor, *gratia*: and signifies *to pay tribute, and regard: to quit ones self of any obligation: also to permit, grant, and allow*. Our word *lease* is of the same original, and signifies a *grant*

* Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. For *cessatio* we should rather read *cessio*.

or *permit* of particular land from the proprietor to the tenant. Hence *alised* is by Kersey interpreted *allowed*: and to him probably Chatterton was indebted for the purport of this term. We may therefore very plainly see the meaning of the poet, when he says,

Somme drybblette share you should to yatte
alyse.

By which is signified—that some small share of your regard you should pay to the science of poetry, which you seem to hold so cheap.

The word occurs in another place, where it may be further explained from the context. Earl Goodwin is speaking to his son Harold concerning the incroachments of the Normans at the English court; and of the countenance, which was given to them by King Edward. His son joins in lamenting the times; and seems determined to take up arms, and free his country. The old Earl upon this addresses him in these words.

Botte lette us wayte untylle somme season
fytte,

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse.

* * * * *

Englonde, oh Englonde, t'ys for thee I
blethe,

Whylste

Whylste Edward to thie sonnes wylle nete
alyse,

Shulde anie of thie sonnes fele aughte of
 * ethe ?

p. 179. v. 30.

It is to be observed, that Goodwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Somersetshire. There are several ancient records, which contain ordinances of King Edward to Harold, wherein the latter is mentioned in that capacity. One of these begins in the following manner. † Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Tovid minne Schyre-refen, and alle mine þeines inne Somersæten prenbliche. Again—‡ Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Aylnoð Abbot, and Godwine Schyre-reven, & alle mine þeynes on Sumerseten frendliche. Other examples precisely to the same purpose are to be ‡ found. Hence it is, that those words are by the author given to Goodwin.

Mie Kentyshmen, thie *Summertounes* shall
 ryse.

i. e. *The people in thy province of Somersetshire.*

* Ethe for ease—See Gloss. to Rob. Brunne: so blethe provincial for bleed. For words of this sort I shall bring authority hereafter.

† Hickes's Thesaur, vol. i. p. 160.

‡ In the same author, p. 161, 2.

In

In the passage above, Goodwin in his great concern makes an apostrophe to his country :

Englonde, oh Englonde—

Whylste Edward to thie sonnes wylle nete
alyse,

Shulde anie of thie sonnes fele aughte of
ethe?

By this is manifestly meant, *Whilst the King will not * allow any of their rights to his own people; whilst he will not pay any regard to those, who are his natural subjects, how can it be expected, that they can sit in a state of unconcern and ease?*

Our word to *loose*, or *disengage*, is of the same original; from the Saxon verb *alyran*. Hence it is said, in the life of St. Margaret, concerning our Saviour—

† Ant seþen into helle þe holi goſt he
send,

To alesen cristine men.

i. e. to *loosen* or *set Christian men free*.

In like manner to *alyran* land is to pay the rent, and free it from all incumbrances. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

* The poet uses the word in the same sense, p. 193. v. 180.

Full twenty mancas I will thee *alise*.

i. e. *allow, remit, and cause to be issued*.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 226.

AMENUSED.

A M E N U S E D.

There are several faults in that passage, from whence I took my first quotation. I mean the letter to Master Canynge.

Somme drybblette share, &c.

The author is speaking of persons, who abode too rigidly by the rules of history; and would not pay a proper regard to poetry: with the liberties of which they were unjustly offended.

Pardon, yee Graiebarbs, gyff I saie, on-
wife

Yee are, to stycke so close and bysmarelie
To historie: you doe ytte tooe moche
pryze:

Whyche amenused thoughtes of poesie,
Somme drybblette share you shoulde to
yatte alyse;

Nott makynge everyche thyng bee hyf-
torie.

p. 72. v. 25.

In the first place the transcriber explains the word *bysmarilie* by *curiouslie*: whereas it signifies here *extravagantly*: or with so much *veneration*. In the next place the word *amenufed*, which he has expressed in the past tense, should be *amenufeth* in the present, as is plain from the context. This is a different
word

word from *amanased*, and *amansed*, of which we treated before. It comes from the French *amenuisir*, and signifies, as he very justly intimates, *to lessen* or *diminish*. It is to be found in ancient * writers, particularly in the Treatise called the *Pylgremage of the Sowle*. In this a person, after his departure from the world, is supposed to have a view of the earth at a great distance. † *Thenne byhelde I the centre even in the myddes, whiche was aboute envyronned by ordre of lesse derke mater and lesse, so that the overmoost of the erth was moost clere; and alwey the clerenesse AMENUSSYNG downward by veray formal processe anone to the centre.* And here I think we may perceive the means by which the transcriber was led to this mistake. It is to be observed, that the old Saxon ‡ theta, which some called the *spina*, was not out of use in the time of Rowley. The word, of which we are treating, was in the manuscript expressed *amenuseð*. This final letter the transcriber took for a common d: the cross stroke being probably effaced: and

* *Amenused. exp. diminutus. Skinner.*

† Printed by Caxton, 1483. L. 1. Fol. 4.

‡ *Hæc litera þ, anglica that est nominata: et ponitur pro quod. Istæ tres literæ, þ ð 8, thorn sunt vocatæ, et ponuntur pro th. This is taken from a Mss. in the Cott. Lib. and quoted by Hickes in his Thesaurus. L. 2. p. 287. 2.*

he has accordingly, contrary to all rule, introduced the term in the præter tense: but it certainly should be *amenuſeth* in the preſent. The purport of the whole paſſage is this. *Pardon me, ye old greyberds, if I think, that you are not wiſe in ſlicking with ſuch a wild and extravagant regard to hiſtory. Ye do it too much honour. For it diminſhes, and reſtrains the powers of poetry: to which you ought to make ſome ſmall allowance: and not confine all writings to the ſtrict rules of hiſtorical evidence.*

When the art of Printing was firſt introduced into England, it was for the moſt part carried on by foreigners; who had no type, that correſponded with this Saxon character. By theſe means it came to be diſuſed, firſt in printed books, and afterwards in writings. This is taken notice of by the learned Alexander Gil in his treatiſe ſtiled *Logonomia Anglica*, before mentioned. *Nam cum prudentiſſimus ille Rex, et una faventiſſimus literarum, Henricus Septimus typographum Winken de Word (qui primus ſcripta Anglica prælo expreſſit) huc e Germaniâ evocaret, neceſſe habuit typographus illis, quos habuit, typis noſtras voces excudere. Sic primum accepti ſunt th pro ð. See his Preface, p. 6. He miſtakes about Winkin de Word; for he was by no means the firſt printer:*

printer; but the other part of his account is very consonant to the truth. He afterwards proceeds in this manner. Cui etiam rei hoc argumento esse potest, quod Germani sonos illos non habent, in quibus maxime erratum est: neque enim pronunciant *thing*, sed Ding: pro faðer, vater. We may obtain the like intelligence from Sir Thomas Smith, in his curious treatise upon the English language. He is speaking of the Saxon theta; and says—hâc literâ sive caractere, quam spinam vocant avi nostri, et qui proxime ante librorum impressionem vixerunt, sunt abusi (it should be corrected—sunt usi) ad omnia ea scribenda, quæ nunc magno magistrorum errore per th scribimus. — Spina autem illa videtur mihi referre prorsus Græcorum θ. De rectâ et emendatâ Ling. Ang. scriptione: p. 33. We find from these two very learned persons, that the Saxon character, of which I have been speaking, lasted till the art of printing prevailed; at which time it began first to be discountenanced. And this art was not known in England till towards the latter part of Rowley's life; about the year 1474. At this time Caxton first set up a press in Westminster, and made use of the types which he had procured in Germany. Even then these characters were not totally laid aside: for so late as

1502 there was printed a Latin Missal, in usum Ecclesiæ Helfordensis, by Henry Pepwell: where one clause in the order of matrimony is expressed in English, and occurs in the following manner. Wyþ þys ryng y þe wede, and wyþ þys gold and selver ych þe geve: and wyþ myne body ych þe honour. See Ames Hist. of Printing, p. 136.

From what has been said, I think, it is pretty clear, that the transcriber of these poems did in his expressing of the word *amenused*, instead of *amenuseth*, mistake an old Saxon character; and consequently must have had an original manuscript before him. The nature of the mistake seems to prove it beyond all doubt.

That some of the Saxon characters were retained in these Mss. seems farther clear from the words Dheie, Dhere and Dhereof, which occur at the beginning of some lines. These seem apparently to be thus rendered from the Saxon Ð; which is always prefixed to words, which are either capital, or with which the line commences. Of this we have the following example.

This mittie crosse, Jerusalem, ys seene:
Dhereof the fyghte their corrage doe affraie.

p. 7. v. 28.

i. e. the

i. e. the fight of which cross abates the courage of the Saracens, concerning whom he is treating.

Thereof in old writers is continually put for *whereof*; and *there* for *where*; and expressed *Dereof*, and *Dere*.

I will borrow a few extracts from some ancient writings in verse, which were antecedent to the art of printing: and by these it will be seen, that these Saxon characters were more or less retained, when the others were obsolete. They will likewise shew, that there was not any uniformity in writing in those times: and by their anomalies will account for the peculiarities in Rowley: and likewise for those French words, which are so often to be found in him. This will appear more apparently to those, who will consult the whole history: instead of taking up with the short extracts, which I am obliged to make. I will begin first with a few lines from an old version of the Creed of Athanasius, which will afford some evidence to what I say.

† Who so wil be sauf to blis,
Before alle þinges nede to is,
Dat he hald with alle his miht
De heli trauthe and leve it riht.

* * * *

† The Creed of St. Athanasius in an ancient version.
See Hicckes's Thesaur. Ling. Septemp. vol. i. p. 233.

L

Dat

Dat o god inne þrinneſſe,
 And þrinneſſe in * onneſſe,
 Worſhip we þe more and leſſe.
 † Ne þe hodes oht mengande,
 Ne þe ſtayelnes ſondrande.

The next extract ſhall be from the life of St. Margaret, which is to be found in the ſame ‡ author.

Olde ant yonge i preit ou oure folies for
 to § lete.

Denchet o god þat yef ou wit, oure ſinnes
 to || bete.

þere i mai tellen ou, wid wordes faire ant
 ſwete,

De vie of one meidan. was hoten Mare-
 grete.

* prinneſſe and onneſſe.—i. e. *trinity and unity*. I ſhould imagine that the next line is not truly copied. It ought to be

Worſhip we ne mo, ne leſs.

The terms—*ne mo, ne* have been altered to *the more*: after which the particle *and* was inſerted to help out the ſenſe and metre.

† Not confounding the perſons,
 Nor dividing the ſubſtance.

‡ Carmen Anglo-normanicum de paſſione Sanctæ Margaretæ—quoted at large by Hickes, *ibid.* p. 224.

§ To ſtop: check: put an end to. Ou and oure for you and youre.

|| To amend, better.

þere

þere fader was a * patriac. as ic ou tellen
may,

In auntioge (a) wif e ches. † i þe fals lay.

‡ Deve godes ant doumbe. he served nitt
ant day,

So deden mony oþere. þat finger weilawey.

After the death of Margaret, the poem con-
cludes as follows.

De heie king of hevene lef us to don so.

Dat we habben þe blisse; § þat last over
ant oo.

Of the swete meiden. þis is her vie.

De twenteuþe dai is hire. i þe time of
ivlie.

Ih̄s christ þat was born. of seinte Marie

Far. seinte Maregrete love. of us have
mercie.

Amen. Amen. chēcun die amen.

The same characters are found in the Mss.
of Robert of Gloucester; and are retained in
the printed copy by Hearne. And in many
instances where they are omitted in the print-
ed copies of ancient writings, they are to be
found in the manuscripts. The like is to be
seen in Robert of Brunne.

* A chief citizen.

† In the false law, or religion. i. e. pagan.

‡ Deaf gods and dumb.

§ The bliss, that lasts ever and aye.

There are many things to be observed in the extracts above. In the first place we may learn, that people in those times varied greatly both in respect to orthography and language. The same word is differently exhibited : and there are also many particular terms, which were not in common use. We find the words *thrinnesse* and *onneffe*, which seem to be of this class, in the creed of Athanasius. In the other extract *o god* is put for one god, *ou* for you, and *oure* for your : all which is particular ; and, as I should imagine, provincial. I should judge the same of the terms *over ant oo* ; which are put for *ever and ay*. We likewise find here, as may be seen more fully in other parts of this composition, French words introduced, in the same manner as they are found in Rowley. There are also words borrowed from the Latin, like *ardurous*, *inutile*, *volunde*, in Rowley : which do not seem to have been at all current : but coined merely for the present occasion. Such is the term *pouste* for *potestas* in a part which I have not quoted.

Nou þou haveſt pouſte of my fleiſce ant bon.

to * deruen myne ſoule pouſte neves to
non. ibid. Stanza 38.

i. e. Now

* What in *Pierce Plowman*, *Rowley*, and other writers is ſtilled to *dere* and *derne* : *i. e.* to *hurt*, and *injure* ;
is

i. e.

Now haft thou power over my flesh and
bone :

To injure my foul power ne haft thou none.

It is obfervable that Rowley has mee for
mead ; and mees for meadows. We find
analogous to this the word mai ufed by this
other writer for maid.

Olibrius haft þat mai in prifon don.

p. 226.

At the fame time there are instances of his
ufing the word maiden at full length, which
fhews that there was no uniformity in the
writings of thofe days. The language, as
well as the fpelling, in the verfes above is
not unlike that in Rowley, though far more
ancient. The principal reason for my mak-
ing thefe quotations was to fhew, that the
Saxon theta was retained, when fome other
of the principal characters were out of ufe :
which is from hence made fufficiently evi-
dent.

is here expreffed to *deruen*. Of this I fhall fay more
hereafter.

It is obfervable, that *i* is fometimes put for *in* ; and that
letter has never any apex or dot.

A D E N T E.

Ontoe thie veste the rodde sonne ys *adente*,
Ælla, p. 104. v. 396.

The word is in the notes explained *fastened*. From hence we may perceive, that when Chatterton at any time comes near the truth, he does not precisely know the meaning of the word, which he interprets: nor is he perfect master of the intelligence, which he has gained. The term above comes from the Saxon * *dynt*, *ictus*; which is expressed *dint* and *dent* at this day. By these words is signified force; and any forcible impression. We often say, that a thing was effected by *dint* of study; by *dint* of labour; by *dint* of perseverance. The verb above signifies to impress forcibly, and with some latitude to *adapt*, *join*, and *fasten*. But in the line above it cannot well be admitted in the last sense. We cannot with any propriety say, that the sun was *fastened* to a garment. The meaning here is, that the rays of the sun were forcibly impinged upon the robe of the person

* And wyth hard dunt & gret yre togadere suthth hij
come. Rob. of Gloucest. p. 185. l. 2.

And smyte eyther other, her & ther, & harde dunts
caste. ib. l. 12.

Dunt. blow. stroke. Gloss.

spoken of. It may therefore be explained and rendered

Upon thy vest the red sun is *impress'd*.

i. e. *shines strongly*.

It however does certainly mean also to be *annexed*, and strongly *joined* to any thing : of which we have an example in Ælla.

As thou's faste dented to a loade of peyne.

P. 94. v. 263.

i. e. forcibly annexed, from δύντ, a stroke or pressure.

The like occurs in Godwin, p. 179, v. 32.

Adented prowess to the gite of witte.

This in the notes is explained *fastened*: and it does in some measure so signify: but it may more properly be rendered, *annexed* and *adapted*. But though this be the meaning of the term, yet it seems not to be truly expressed: and I suspect that there is some error which has arisen through the fault of transcribing. For this reason I will lay, what precedes, as well as what is subsequent before the reader. Godwin in the play is giving advice to his son Harold, who appears too warm, and eager to rise in arms.

Botte lette us wayte untillle somme feason
fytte,

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse;

Adented prowess to the gite of witte,
Agayne the argent horse shall daunce yn
skies. p. 179. v. 30.

We find here the terms *adented prowess* put absolute and independent: which is uncommon and contrary to grammatical construction. From hence I am led to suspect, what I have before mentioned, that the Saxon theta has been passed over without notice: and that the spina δ has been taken for a common d. In short I imagine, that what is here a participle—*adented*, was the imperative mood *adenteth*. Where we say give, they formerly said *giveth*: and for love, *loveth*. Thus in Wiclif's Testament, instead of *take heed*, it is expressed *taketh heed* that ye do not youre rightwisnesse before men, Matt. C. 5. Thus it occurs in Chaucer—

Now draweth cutte, or that ye forther
twinne.

Now draweth cutte, for that is min accord.
Cometh nere (quoth he) my lady Prioreffe.

* Vol. i. p. 34. v. 837. 840. 1.

From

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition. So verse 3700.

Awaketh, Lemman mine, and *speaketh* to me.

Now ge kynde men of þys lond *cutheth* goure mon-
hede;

And *awrekeþ* þou of þis luper men.

Rob. of Gloucest. p. 136. l. 12.

Armeþ

From hence I am led to imagine that Godwin in this passage bids his son to join his courage, and pin it, to the † gite, or robe, of wisdom: that is, make a union of these two necessary qualities. The lines seem to be not truly stopped: and the whole should probably be read as follows.

Botte lette us wayte untylle somme season
fytte,

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse.

Adenteth prowefs to the gite of witte,
Agayne the argent horse shall daunce yn
skies.

That is—If we do but wait for a proper opportunity, both my people, and those of your earldom, will presently be in arms. Temper your courage with wisdom and art, the Saxon standard will soon be seen displayed in the air.

The verb indent is still current: and signifies to make a bargain; to contract. See Johnson's Dict. It originally betokened to

Armeþ 3ou nou hastelyche, armeþ 3ou anon,
Vor we sfolle to day myd god help overcome ur fon.
ibid. p. 172. l. ult.

† And she came after in a gite of red. Chaucer, v. 3952. A gite, a gown. ibid. Glossary to Chaucer. Gite, a gown. Kersey's Dict.

tally,

tally, make a coalition, and to be united. It comes from Dýnt, ictus. dýntas, plagæ. Sax. Dict. L. and M.—Dint, a *stroak* or *impression*. ab AS.—Dýnt. Gloss. to Gawin Douglas.—Dint, *force, power*. Johnson.

It is to be remembered, that at setting out, I laid it down for a certainty, that if any person transmitted a learned and curious composition, and was found not to understand the context, he could not be the author. Or if he varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appeared from the context, or from any good authorities, that person could not have been the author. Of this ignorance, and of such mistakes, I have shewn Chatterton in many instances to have been guilty; and some probably may still occur in the course of my progress. I have insisted, that every author must know his own meaning. But this young man is continually betraying his ignorance in respect to the purport of these poems. They are therefore undoubtedly by another hand. His deviations, and misconceptions, cannot be attributed to him as an original composer; but they may be easily accounted for in a transcriber: in one too, who was very young: who was a novice in the histories, which are recorded; and not accustomed to the diction, in which
they

they are transmitted. He had manuscripts before him, which were probably not always distinct, and legible: and he had terms to explain, which were often above his capacity. He had therefore recourse to glossaries, whenever they were to be obtained; and from them he altered some things, and explained others: giving the best interpretation that his scanty knowledge could afford. But there are a great number of words, with which he confessedly does not pretend to be acquainted: for he does not attempt a solution. And where he has attempted, we see, notwithstanding the helps afforded him, how often he has failed. Of these mistakes, there are none, of which he has been supposed guilty as an author, but may be more reasonably attributed to him, as a transcriber and critic. Indeed, as I have before said, they are incompatible with an original composer. An author, when very intent upon his subject, may possibly write *there* for *their*: *then* for *than*: but he will never put *tears* for *fears*; *stythe* for *swythe*: much less *viçtualle* for *victims*. These are not slips of the pen, but real errors of judgment. The word Astrologer used sometimes to be expressed *Asterlagour*: and so it seems to have occurred in the second Battle of Hastings. He was so ignorant as to read it *Afterlagour*: and has absolutely

lutely disjoined the constituent parts, and taken it for a proper name; the name of a Norman of some consequence. He accordingly forgets the real person spoken of; and addresses this After la gour, as a person of science.

Couldst thou not kenn, most skylld After
la gour. P. 255. v. 354.

He thought it was analogous to Delacoure, Delamere, and other compounded French names. So puerile are the mistakes of the person, who is supposed to have been the author of these excellent poems,

R E F E-

R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y

E X P L A I N E D A N D I L L U S T R A T E D.



A L I S T
O F S U B J E C T S.

Æ L L A
Rafne

Watchet

Bristol

Summertons

Gronfrye

Argent Horfe

St. Cuthberte

Turgotte

Battle of Hastings

Standrip Tower

Matraval

Powys-land

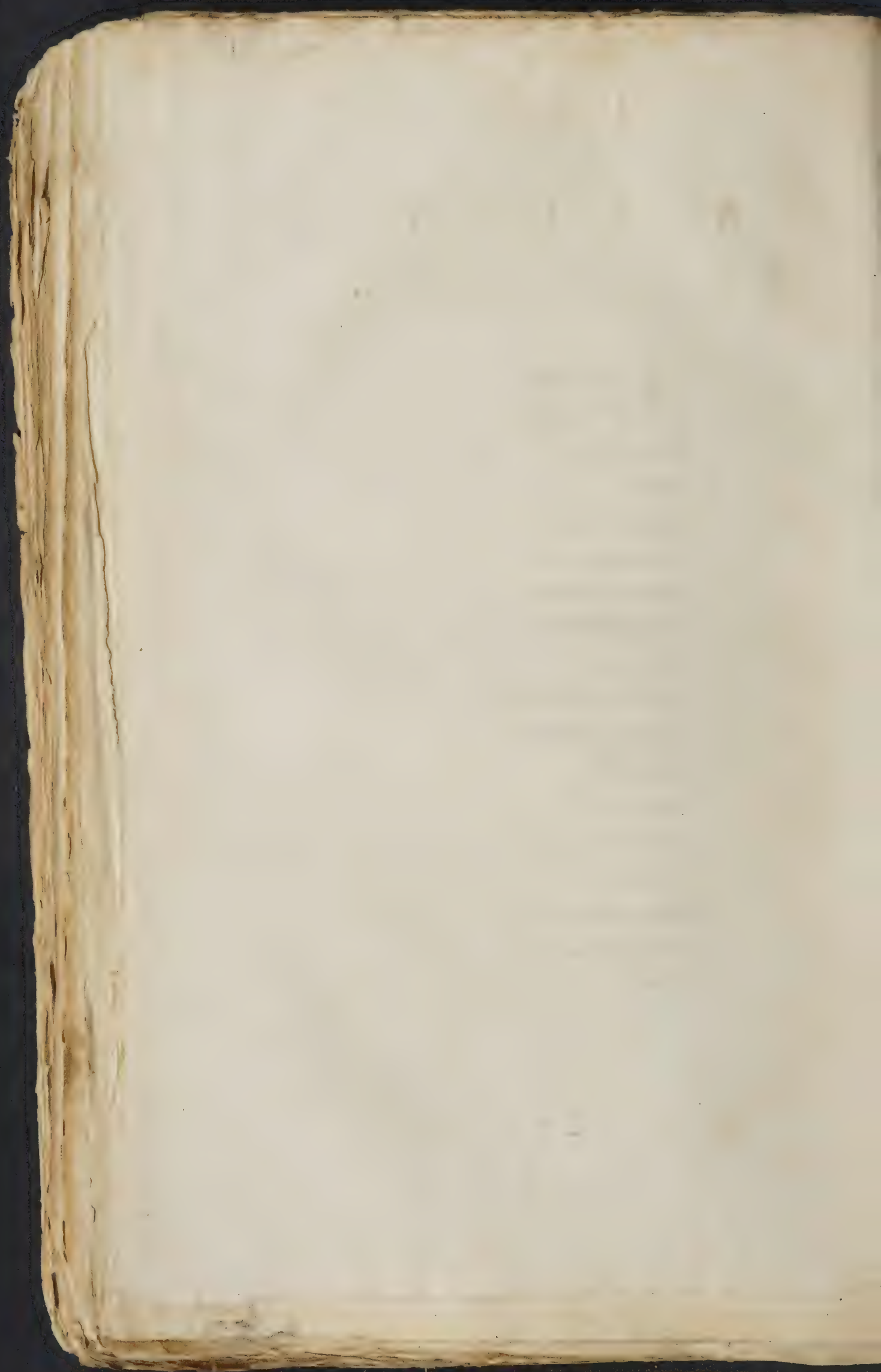
Howel ap Jevah

Ofwald

Hibernie's Wood

Goodrick

Elms



R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R I E S.

I SHALL now proceed to consider some passages in these poems; which though they may at first appear obscure and uninteresting, yet will be found true in fact; and may be illustrated, and ascertained from the evidences of the best historians. Our distance from the scene of action renders the traces somewhat faint: yet upon a diligent inquiry they may be plainly descried; and will be found to lead ultimately to valuable discoveries. Among other considerations, they will strongly intimate the age, which gave birth to these poems; and the hand, by which they were originally composed. In short, it is my purpose to shew, that the allusions in these poems are too refined and curious, and relate to circumstances too remote and obscure, to have proceeded from the young man, to whom these poems have been by
M many

many ascribed. That he was unacquainted with them will in a manner appear from his own evidence: as he either did not pretend to explain them; or else explained them untruly. I shall therefore in the course of my procedure produce many more mistakes, of which he has been apparently guilty.

But my suspicions do not terminate here. We have seen, that the obsolete terms are wonderfully authenticated, as well as illustrated, by being compared with the like words in other writings: and the most manifest analogy of all is to be found in the version of the *Eneis* by Gawin Douglas; and some other early writers of his nation. Hence, though I am persuaded, that all these compositions are of a genuine antiquity; yet I believe, that some few of them are of a date prior to that of Rowley; and have been transmitted to us through his hands from the north. This person, under whose name the poems have been published, has left us some account of his own life in the * *Memoires* of Sir William Canynge: concerning the authenticity of which in general I have not any doubt. In these *Memoires* he tells us, that when he was sent by his friend to purchase for him curiosities, he availed

* Among the *Miscellanies* in prose and verse by Thomas Chatterton, printed at London, 1778.

himself of that opportunity to procure manuscripts for his own use. And he particularly mentions his being at Durham; where Turgott had been formerly Prior. He flourished long before Rowley, yet the latter acknowledges great obligations to him for the light obtained from his writings: and he seems likewise to have been fond of ancient terms, and to have retained them with a kind of religious reverence. Hence many of the poems are of a far more ancient cast, than is observable in the language of the times, in which he lived. And as some of them have such an affinity with the Scottish diction, I believe, that those of such an appearance came from the vicinity of that country, and were the produce of the learned Turgott: who, as I have before mentioned, was Prior of Durham; and resided several years in Scotland. They have been new modelled, and put into a more modern dress by Rowley of Bristol: yet much of the language, and many of the historical allusions, point to another æra, and to a different part of the world. Of this I shall say no more here: as sufficient evidence will, I believe, accrue to this purpose in the course of these inquiries.

Æ L L A.

Among the poems of Rowley is a *Tragycal Enterlude*, or *Discoorsynge Tragedie*, called *Ælla*. Now it has been said, that there were no plays so early written as this is supposed to have been : and that this must upon that account be a forgery. But how is it possible for us to know precisely, at what time plays of this sort were composed ? They must have had a beginning : and why not in the age of Rowley ; or even in a time far antecedent to him ? No argument should be admitted, which is founded upon mere inexperience. That there were plays written before the time in question seems to be plainly intimated by Bale the Bishop of Offory. In speaking of Lydgate the Monk of Bury, he tells us, that he wrote many things in prose and verse : and having enumerated several of his works, he concludes with saying—that he also composed *Tragedies* and *Comedies* with other things of an entertaining nature. Lydgate is said to have died at the age of sixty, anno 1440 : and to have been buried at St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk. But there is reason to think, that he lived a few years longer. I am sensible, it may be said, that under the title of *Tragedies* and *Comedies* nothing more was meant than

than serious and ludicrous poems : and without doubt under this denomination such compositions are often denoted. On this account we will not lay too great stress upon this evidence : though when both poems and plays are specified and distinguished, we might naturally imagine, that the one article could not be included in the other. The words of Bale are as follow—

* Poemata et Odas,
Satyras et alia poemata.

Tragedias quoque ac Comædias, aliaque non injucunda edidit. Mr. Wharton, who has gone very deep in these researches, affords us proofs of plays not being uncommon in the year 1489 : and he quotes a passage from an old curious memoir concerning shews and ceremonies exhibited that year in the Palace at Westminster. † *This Christmase I saw no disguysings, and but right few plays. But there was an Abbot of misrule, that made much sporte; and did righte well his office. And again—At nighte the Kinge and the Queene, and my Ladie, the Kinges moder came into the Whitehall, and ther hard a play.* In William of Worcestre, mention is made of a play being acted at a Monastery in Norfolk in the year 1477.

* Balæus. de Script. Illust. Britannie. L. 8. p. 587.

† Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 239.

* *Comædia ad Monasterium Hulmi, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Dioecesis Norwicensis, directa ad reformationem sequentium: cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477: et a morte Johannis Fastolf militis (eorum benefactor † præcipuus) 17°. in cujus monasterij ecclesiâ tumultatur.* There are other evidences concerning plays, and the decorations of plays, as far back as the reign of King Richard the Second: and even of his grandfather, Edward the Third. Mr. Tyrwhitt mentions Chester's Whitsun Plays, which are esteemed as early as 1326: and he quotes passages from them, as may be seen in his very learned notes upon ‡ Chaucer.

I am sensible, that the plays mentioned above seem to have been confined to religious subjects. They were acted in monasteries and churches, which made a scriptural history the most eligible for their composition. But though the monks of the times may have confined themselves to these subjects; it does not follow, that people of more learning, and genius, were limited in the same manner. As plays certainly existed, the plan might some-

* *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre, p. 161. Edidit. Jacobus Nasmith, Coll. Corp. Christi Cantab. Socius. 1778.*

† I quote the whole, as I find it, without making any alteration in the Latinity.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 244.

times be varied; and the transition from sacred history to profane was very natural and easy. Many generous attempts may have been made towards the improvement of the rude drama, and the introduction of compositions upon a better model: but the ignorance of the monks, and the depraved taste of the times, may have prevented such writings being either countenanced, or preserved. It may be said, that we have no examples of any compositions of this sort. But this is begging the question, while we have the plays of *Ælla*, and *Godwin*, before us. The former of these is particularly transmitted to us, as *Rowley's*. It is said to have been produced upon a private stage: and the chief persons before whom it was acted, as well as the place where, are mentioned. Those also, who sustained the chief characters, are specified by name. We have nothing to offer in contradiction to this evidence, but suspicions and scruples, which arise merely from inexperience; and have no real foundation. Let us then consider this composition well; and the history, with which it is attended: and see whether from its texture, language, and references, it will not be found as old as it is said to be. I must confess, I have sometimes suspected that the original plan was older.

It is remarkable, that *Rowley* in the title

to the play of *Ælla*, styles it a *discoorsynge Tragedie*. This was done; because, though there were undoubtedly plays written at this time, and long before; yet there were exhibitions of another nature; some of which consisted of scriptural representations, without any regular dialogue: and some without any dialogue at all. He therefore gives this title to the composition, in order to distinguish it from the more ordinary shows and representations: a caution, which would never have been thought of by the boy Chatterton.

The tragedy is denominated from the principal character, *Ælla*: upon whose misfortune the plan of the play is founded. He is said to have been Warden of Bristol Castle; and to have protected the province where he resided, from the incursions of the Danes. At what time the particular event happened, which gave birth to this excellent sample of ancient composition, may be a circumstance not easy to be determined. We may suppose, that the principal facts are true: that the Danes did land near Portlac and Watchet; and in other parts of Somersetshire: and that they were defeated by a person named *Ælla*. In order therefore to form some judgment concerning the æra of this transaction, it will be proper to consider the various depredations,
made

made by the Danes at different times in these parts : and to collect the additional histories, which relate to these events. Though the groundwork of the play be true, yet I imagine, that the author has taken the common liberty of a poet ; and introduced many foreign circumstances, in order to set off his composition to advantage. Among these possibly may be reckoned the treachery of Celmonde in respect to the Lady Birtha ; and all the fatal consequences, which ensued from it. But still there was a real descent made by the Danes : and they were repulsed with loss by a person of Bristol, and the people of that country.

We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, and other histories, that there were more persons than one of the name of Ælla. So early as the time of Hengist, a Saxon Prince, called Ælla, came over with his two sons, anno 477, and defeated the Britons near Andredsweald, where he landed ; and afterwards in other * places. There was likewise an Ælla, the son of Uffa, a descendant of Woden ; who obtained the kingdom in † Northumberland, anno 560. Another Prince of this name reigned in the same kingdom, anno 867 ; having been put up in the room of Osbryght,

* Chron. Sax. p. 14. l. 15. 30.

† Ibid. p. 20.

whom

whom a faction had * deposed. This Prince was slain by the Danes at York, together with Osbryght; and the whole happened anno 867, in the time of Etheldred King of the West Saxons, and of Alfred his brother. By these means one would expect to gain a little light; and to be brought towards the æra, with which we are concerned. And we might naturally imagine, that great helps would accrue from the evidence of the Danish historians. But the Danes were as yet in a state of paganism, and unacquainted with science. On this account their chronology is often defective, and their histories very confused. Saxo Grammaticus makes mention of these events; and says, that the Danish King was Regner Lodbrog. He landed upon the eastern coast; and finding upon his arrival, that the Prince, who had been deposed, was greatly disaffected, he gained him to his interest: and afterwards meeting Ælla, (whom he calls Hella) in battle, he defeated him near Norwich. According to Saxo, the name of the deposed King was not Osbryght, but † Ivar. Quippe Angli, fugato eo, in Hellam

* Tyrannum quendam Ællam nomine, non de Regali prosapia progenitum, super regni apicem constituerunt. Florent. Vigorn. p. 585. See Henry of Huntingdon. L. 2. p. 314.

† This circumstance and many others cannot be true. Ivar was a Danish name. One of the sons of this very King

Hellam quendam Hammonis filium, falsam Regis contulerant potestatem. Quo (Ivaro) duce Regnerus perinde atque locorum usu perito usus, editâ classe, portum, qui Norwicus appellatur, accessit: ubi expositis copijs, Hellam, Gallicâ virtute subnixum, post extractam in triduum pugnam, fugæ amantem fecit. L. ix. p. 175. Thus far this writer agrees with the English historians, that there was such a person as Ælla or Hella: that he was King of Northumberland: and came to the crown not in his own right, but by a party, which had deposed the true king. But that he was in those early times assisted by the French, and fought the Danes at Norwich, cannot be believed. For Hella of Northumberland was dead, as I have before taken notice. The best English historians mention his being slain at † York. After this we have an account from Saxo of Regner's going to Ireland, and taking Dublin: and of its being recovered by a person named

King Lodbrog was Ivar. The English historians concerning these times, are far more to be depended upon than the Danish: though the latter sometimes contain circumstances not mentioned by the former.

† ——— interfectus est Rex Osbric et Ellan; et innumera multitudo gentis Northumber. — See Hen. Hunt. L. 5. p. 349. See also Sax. Chron. p. 79. Florent. Wigorn. p. 585.

Hella,

Hella, who slew Regner. He speaks of him as if he were the same person, as the former. But I have repeatedly shewn, that this could not be. Besides it is not to be believed, that a petty Prince of Northumberland could at that time, or at any time, have a fleet of ships; and that he should invade Ireland, when he could not maintain himself in his own dominions. It must have been another Ælla or Hella: for at this time the Danes were in possession of * Northumberland, and all the northern parts of the kingdom. This therefore could not have been the hero of the play. Pontanus also makes mention of a person named Hella going over to Ireland; and there defeating Regner; and putting him to death. For this he quotes the authority of Aimonius. *Regnerum Lothbrogum ab Ellâ apud Hibernos truculentissimâ nece confectum. L. iv. p. 100.* It is said of this king, that he was by Ella thrown among a number of serpents; and that when he had a viper gnawing his heart, he sang his funeral song, in which he commemorated all his heroic deeds. *Cum cor ipsum coluber—obsideret, omnem operum suorum cursum, animosâ voce recensuit. ibid.* The song is extant, and consists of twenty-nine long

* See Sax. Chron. p. 79, and 83. and the authors above,

* stanzas. I should not have thought, that a person would have had either inclination, or ability, to shew his musical talents, when he had a serpent at his bosom. At the same time it is to be considered, that in Ireland there are no vipers. The old Danish writers deal very much in the marvellous: on which account we must not trust to them too implicitly, when they treat of ancient occurrences. If there were any truth about a person named Ella going with a fleet to Ireland, and there defeating the Danes; it is more probable on many accounts that he should be of Bristol, than of any other part of England. It is said by Saxo, that in process of time, Ivar the son of Regner, invaded Hella; and by a stratagem defeated him; and at last put him to death. L. ix. p. 177. The like is mentioned by Pontanus: who speaks of † Ella as a King: whereas the Ella or Ælla, concerning whom we are treating, could be

* In this song he is made to describe the serpents, with which he was surrounded; and particularly the viper at his heart.

Crudele stat nocumentum vipera:

Anguis inhabitat aulam cordis. Strophe 28.

At the same time he is made to foretel the death of Ella; which was to be by the sons of Regner. See Olai Wormij Lit. Run. p. 198.

† The person, by the one-styled Hella, is by the other expressed Ella.

no more than a Regulus; and accordingly called the Warden of Bristol Castle. But this would not amount to much; did the other circumstances sufficiently coincide. For the Danish writers often call governors, and generals, kings. In the battle, which Athelstan fought with the Danes near Brunenburgh, anno 988; no less than five kings are said to have been slain. * Sax. Chron. p. 113. There are other instances to the same purpose.

These histories afford us some insight into the times, with which we are concerned: though they may not point out the very object, which we want to have determined. Thus much may with certainty be concluded; that Ælla, or Ella, was a name of consequence among the Saxons: the same may be said of Celmonde; of which name there was an † Earl of Kent; who died in the year 897.

* See Flor. Wigoniens. p. 603. *Quinque Regulos, septemque duces.* See Ingulphus, p. 865. l. 46, and 48. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 354.

† Regner in his funeral Dirge says, that he slew three Kings in the island Lundy: or rather Lindsey. It was a part of Lincolnshire. Stanza xx. Robert of Gloucester, speaking of these inroads of the Danes, says

And by Estangle & Lyndeseye hij wende vorth atte laste.

i. e. by Lincolnshire.

p. 260. l. 17.

‡ Sax. Chron. p. 97.

Birtha

Birtha was an appellation equally noble. The wife of Ethelbert, the first Christian King of Kent, and the daughter of Chilperic King of France, was so * called. I mention these things merely to shew, that there is a propriety in the names : and that possibly there were such persons, as are represented in the play.

As the two Danish commanders, who land at Watchet, are named Magnus and Hurra ; I was once led to suspect, that the transcriber here, as in many other instances, might have been guilty of a mistake : which circumstance, if it could be ascertained, would afford us means to approach with more certainty towards the time of these occurrences. Notwithstanding that I have with some care looked into the Danish and English historians ; yet I cannot meet with a person named Hurra. Such a one may have existed : but the name, does not, as far as I can find, occur. On this account I was led to surmise, that Hurra may have been substituted for Hubba. The name, when described in small characters, and in print, cannot well be mistaken. But when expressed in capitals, and those in manuscript, the proper name HUBBA by an unexperienced young man

* Bede's Eccles. Hist. p. 76. See also Hugonis Candidi Canob. Burgenfis Hist. p. 37.

might be easily taken for HURRA. The sons of Regner, who passed into England, and Ireland, are said in the Danish histories to have been in number seven, * *Eric, Orbec, Godofred, Inguar, Ulfer, Biorn, and Ubbo*; the same as *Hubba*. *Halfdeane* is not mentioned here, though as celebrated, as any of his brethren. He may possibly be included among those above under another appellation. *Hubba* was particularly famous; and is often joined with *Ivar*, or *Inguar*; and always mentioned with terror by the English writers. Matthew of Westminster speaks of their first coming upon the English coast; and describes the numbers, with which they were attended. † *Quorum Duces fuerunt Hinguar et Hubba, diræ perversitatis homines, et fortitudinis inauditæ.* They carried on a piratical war in Ireland; and in coming from thence used to winter in South Wales. This is taken notice of by the same writer, who cannot speak of their cruelty without horror. ‡ *Iniquitas detestanda Hinguaris, Hubbæ, et Haldeni, qui cum viginti navibus ex Demeticâ regione, in quâ hiemaverant, egressi, ut lupi rapaces,—ad*

* Historia Suecica operâ et studio Erpoldi Lindenbruch. Anno 1595. p. 22.

† P. 161.

‡ P. 169. See also Henry of Huntingdon, p. 348.

Devoniam navigârunt. Another writer speaks of them almost in the same words. * Inguar, et Haldene, egressi, ut lupi feroces, a ministris Regis Elfredi fortissimis occisi sunt ante Cimwich. If Hubba were the person, who was defeated by Ælla near Watchet, we might be assured so far concerning the time of the occurrence, that it was in the days of King Alfred; and prior to the battle of Kenwith, or Cimwich: for there Hubba was slain; and buried at a place, called from him Hubba's-low. Henry of Huntingdon mentions, that Alfred had many conflicts with the Danes, in the western parts of England; and in these battles he was particularly assisted by the people of Somersetshire. † Pugnavit sæpe cum exercitu (Danorum) auxilio Somersetensium, qui ibi propinqui erant. ‡ The Danish historians certainly mention Ella by name; and say, that he was attacked by the sons of Regner Lodbrog: one of whom we know to have been Hubba. They add, that Ella was slain. Thus much is certain, that the coast of Somersetshire lay very open to the insults of the Danes, when they came

* Roger Hoveden, p. 417.

† L. v. p. 350. The same is repeatedly said by Asser Menevensis.

‡ See Saxo Grammaticus. L. ix. p. 177. Pontanus, p. 104.

from Ireland, or Demetica, which was the southern part of Wales. Watchet was often attacked by them, and ruined. In the time of King Alfred, they must frequently have landed in these parts; as we may judge from the people of Somersetshire being particularly specified as opposing them.—* *Auxilio Somersetensium, qui ibi propinqui erant.* Robert of Gloucester speaks of them in the same light, as opposing the Danes in those parts.

† ——— *and thet folc of Somersete, &c.*
Hii come and smyte an batayle.

Our poet alludes to events of this kind, when speaking of the river Severne, he says—

‡ Howe onne the bankes thereof brave Ælle fought,
 Ælle descended from Merce kynglie bloude,
 Warden of Brystowe towne, and castel stede,
 Who ever and anon made Danes to bleed.

After all I must confess, that the whole of this inquiry is attended with great uncertainty. I do not therefore produce these evidences, as by any means tending towards a proof; but merely as an illustration of the history, upon which the play of Ælla is founded: and as such they may be acceptable to the reader.

There are other accounts afforded us con-

* Henry Huntingdon above.

† P. 260. l. 14.

‡ Rowley, p. 279. v. 15.

cerning the Danes infesting the western coast of England: and one in particular, which may throw some further light on the circumstances of the poem. This inroad was of a later æra: and happened in the reign of Edward the Elder, in the year 918; at which time the Danes landed to the north of Somersetshire, under the conduct of Ohter and Hroald: and having committed many depredations in Herefordshire and Wales, were at last defeated. In this engagement they lost one of their Generals; and were forced to take shelter in a wood or inclosure. This by the author of the Saxon Chronicle is stiled a pearruc, or park: which we may suppose to have been part of a wood, fenced in: for parks, such as are now, did not then exist. * 7 bedpūon hie on ænne peapꝛuc. *The English drove them into a pearruc, or inclosure.* This part of the history seems in some measure to agree with the words, which the Danish General in the poem is supposed to utter—

I heere the anlacis detested dynne:

Awaie, awaie, ye Danes, to yonder penne. v. 727.

It seems to have been part of a forest: as we may judge from that, which is said by the Danes in another part.

Heere ynn yis forreste lette us watche for pree, v. 976.

* Saxon Chron. p. 105.

It is farther said upon the flight of this people, that they were opposed in their rout southward by the people upon the Severn: but they got by them twice, and made their way towards * Watchet and Portlac: in both which efforts they were defeated with great loss: and particularly to the east of Watchet. They were here totally routed, so that but few survived. Those, who did escape, got first into the small island Stepeholme: and from thence to Demetica, a part of South Wales; and at last to Ireland. The name of the person, who was principal in these victories, is not mentioned. The two Danish commanders are said to have been Ohter and Hroald: which names do not well agree with the Hurra and Magnus of Rowley. Some of the leading circumstances are on both sides similar. The Danes invade the western coast of England; and are defeated in their progress: on which account they make towards Watchet: and are obliged to take shelter in a wood or forest. We have a farther account of this affair given us by Henry of Huntingdon. † Rex autem (Edwardus:

• Saxon. Chron. p. 105.

† Henry of Huntingdon, L. v. p. 353. A like inroad is mentioned in the time of Etheldred, the son of Edgar. Edelredi Regis anno decimo nono Daci circa Cornu Galliam perrexerunt in Savernam, prædantes in Davene,

wardus : anno 918) fecit custodiri littora Saverne ex australi parte ; a Walliâ usque Afenam — &c. Ipsi tamen (Dani) bis furtim exierunt : unâ vice ex orientali parte WECED : aliâ vice apud Porducam, (Pordlucam) : et utrâque vice pauci evaserunt, qui occisi non essent, præter illos, qui poterant natâre ad puppes, &c. Tunc evaserunt ipsi in Diomedum (five Demeticam) et inde in Hiberniam. In all these engagements we may suppose the people of Somersetshire to have been concerned. Watchet, which the Saxons called Weceb, *Weced*, lay very opportunely for the Danes, whenever they came from Ireland or Wales. They * burnt it in the year 987 : and did much damage to the place and inhabitants about ten years afterwards.

The history given above may possibly be the same, which is alluded to in the play. Ælla for the honour of Bristol is made the chief character : and by him Hurra and Magnus are said to have been defeated ; though there might be other persons of equal note concerned. But after all I must confess my doubts about it : and have many reasons to suspect, that this affair was not of so early

Davene, et Sudwales ; egredientesque ad Weche-port cum ferro et flammâ, inde reversi sunt circa Penwistrit. *ibid.* *ibid.* p. 358.

* Chron. Saxo. p. 126, notes. Also p. 129.

date. Besides Ohter and Hroald can never be esteemed the same as Hurra and Magnus. I am persuaded, that the latter name was not then known to the Danes. The first upon record, that I can find, was Magnus, the son of Olaus the Martyr: which Magnus was by Canute the Great dispossessed of Norway. After the death of Canute, he in his turn attacked the Danes, and brought their King Swain to great difficulties. He is mentioned by Robert Brunne, and called both *Magnus* and *Magnum*.

Suane—

Praied him for his navy to help him with fumm,
Bataile was gyven in the se ageyn the kyng Magnum.

* * * * *

For alle the help that he had, Magnus on him so ran,
And chased away Suane & Danmark on him wan.
Bot this Magnus lyved there no longer.

p. 57. l. 8. l. 13, 14.

It is farther to be observed, that according to this history the Danes did not land at Watchet; but began their depredations in North Wales; and then proceeded southward through Herefordshire and Gloucestershire; and so on to the coast of Somersetshire. Here was their final defeat: and from hence the remains of their army escaped to Demetia and Ireland. These circumstances do not agree with the history of Ælla. It shall therefore be my business to proceed upon other

other grounds : which may possibly bring us nearer to the truth.

There is an intimation given in one part of the play ; by which I think we may investigate very nearly the time of the transaction. It is said by the hero of Bristol, by way of encouragement to those about him,

Let cowarde Londonne see herre towne onn fyre,
And strev wythe goulde to staie the royners honde.

p. 120. v. 623.

i. e. *and strive by money to stop the hand of the ruiner,
the destroying Dane.*

This plainly relates to a compact made by the Londoners not long before this event at Bristol : which compact is mentioned by Ælla as a base treaty ; and unworthy of the people, who made it. If we can find out, when this convention happened, we may be pretty certain of the age, in which this person lived : and to what reign the transaction at Watchet may be referred.

There are more instances than one, when the people of London sued for peace to the Danes ; and obtained it for a sum of money. This piece of policy seems to have been first carried into execution by Etheldred, the elder brother of Alfred. In the year 872, at which time Inguar and Hubba were so formidable, the Danes are said to have marched towards London ; and wintered there.

As the city was the capital of Mercia, and indeed of the whole kingdom; and not, as far as we can find, either besieged or taken; we must suppose that the Danes were admitted there upon a composition; and that the security of the people was purchased for a sum of money. That some such compact was made we have intimation from the histories of the times. The Saxon Chronicle takes the following notice of the enemy's march, and the treaty in consequence of it. An. DCCCLXXII. þer for se hepe to Lundebýrig from Readingum, 7 þær pinter setl nam. And þa namon Mýrce ppið pið þone hepe. p. 82. *This year the Pagans marched from Reading to London: and in that city took up their winter quarters: and the Mercians entered into a treaty with them.* After Menevensis gives the same account. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCCLXXII. nativitatis vero Ælfredi regis vigesimo quarto; præfatus Paganorum exercitus Londoniam adiit, atque ibi hiemavit: cum quo Mercij pacem * pepigerunt, p. 26. As we may be assured, that no truce nor treaty could be well obtained from that powerful and insolent ene-

* See also Simeon Dunelmensis. p. 127. Alfreði Regis anno primo exercitus (Paganorum) venit Londinium a Reding, et ibi per hyemem fuit: et Mercenses ceperunt inducias cum exercitu. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 349.

my but by purchase; there is reason to think, that the Londoners, and the Mercians in general, gained their short-lived advantage by these means. There were other exactions, to which the nation was obliged to submit, at different times afterwards. In the reign of King Etheldred the Second, anno 1012, they were obliged to pay largely to preserve the country from ruin: of this we have an account given by the Abbot John of Peterborough. *Perfidus Dux Edric, et omnes primates Angliæ, Londoniæ congregati, Danis tributum, scilicet quadraginta et octo milium librarum, persolvebant.* p. 35. Five years afterwards in the reign of Edmund Ironside, the whole nation was exposed to fire and sword under Canute: when at last a treaty was made between the two Kings in the island of Athelney, in the year 1016. Upon this Canute retired into Mercia; and a * tribute was imposed. Also a large body of the Danes came to London, where the people gave them an ample gratification in money, and then opened their gates to receive them. *Chron. Sax.* p. 150. The exaction was so large, that the people do not seem to have been able to levy the whole at once. Hence we are told in the same history, that

* See Johannes Brumton apud Scriptores Ang. Decem. p. 907. Pontani Hist. Rerum Danicarum. L. v. p. 152.

two years after the nation made its payment. *In this year, 1018, was the gabel payed throughout the whole kingdom to the Danes, which amounted to seventy-two thousand pounds; besides that, which the people of London were obliged to pay: ꝥ pær xi þusenð punda. that was eleven thousand pounds.* Chron. Saxon. p. 151. It is said, that the Danes had before in the same year made an attack upon the city; but were repulsed with loss. They upon this retreated into the provinces of Mercia, and destroyed with fire and sword every thing, which came in their way. They afterwards made a second attempt: when the Londoners, as has been shewn above, opened their gates to them, having purchased their mercy for the sum specified; by which means their city was saved. Simeon of * Durham speaks of these times as very calamitous: and says, that at last a truce was agreed upon: which the Danes do not seem in the least to have regarded. *DANI tamen cum prædâ, quam diripuerant, suas ad naves redierunt; cum quibus PACEM DATO PRECIO Cives Londonienses fecerunt; et eos secum hiemare permiserunt.* This, I imagine, was the particular fact alluded to, when Ælla is made to say to his people—

* De Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 174.

Let cowarde Londonne see herre towne onn fyre,
 And flev wythe goulde to staie the royners honde,
 Ælla and Bristowe have the thoughtes, thattes hygher.

The Danes probably had set fire to some part of the city, which induced the inhabitants to compound for the rest. This composition was made, as I have before mentioned, in the year 1016: and about the same time, but somewhat subsequent to this event, was the landing of the Danes at Watchet; who were repulsed by Ælla, and the people of Somerset. They were part of a large body, which had forced themselves into some provinces of Ireland: from whence they often came over in a piratical manner; and made depredations upon the Welch, and upon the people of Devonshire, Somersetshire, and * Cornwall. Hence without determining precisely this event, upon which the play is founded, I will only presume to place it in the reign of Canute the Great, soon after the Danes had got possession of London: for that fact seems

* There is an instance of a later landing upon the coast of the Severne, and of depredations in consequence of it. Anno MXLXIX. — Hybernienfes Piratæ, triginta et sex navibus ostium Sabrinæ intrantes, cum auxilio Griffini regis australium Britonum, super Anglos apud Wileſceaxan irruerunt, igne et ferro multa mala facientes. Chron. John. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. p. 41. I however take the former event to be that, which is referred to by the poet: as the time is so particularly pointed out by the tribute paid at London.

to be alluded to as a recent event. On this account I should place the engagement at Watchet to the reign of the first Danish monarch, and about the year 1020, or it may possibly have been a few years later.

RAFEN, RAFEN, and RAFEN-FAN.

There are many curious histories alluded to in these poems, which may not be obvious to every reader. I am confident, that they were for the most part a secret to the person, who by many has been looked upon as the author. An history of this sort is contained in the following lines.

The Danes, wythe terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, & lyche a Ravenne
fledde. p. 131. v. 792.

Celmonde in the play of Ælla is giving an account of the victory gained by that General near Watchet: and of the precipitate flight of the enemy. It may be asked, why they are said to have fled away like a raven, rather than like a deer, or any other fugitive animal. The reason was, because the banner, which they are said to have thrown away, had this very bird for a device. The raven was held by the Danes in great reverence. It is said in the Edda, that Odin was stiled Rafna-Gud;

Gud; *the deity of ravens*: and that two of these birds, were continually at his ear in Valhal, to inform him of every thing, which passed in the world: see Fab. 34. De mensâ et victu * Odini. On this account a raven was esteemed sacred; and was described in the chief standard of the Danes. Spelman in his life of King Alfred, speaking of the great defeat given to the Danes near Kenwith Castle by Osdun Earl of Devonshire, has the following words. Hâc factâ strage, dum hostium exuvias colligunt, opibus haud parvis refertas, in manus Victoris venit inclytum illud vexillum Danicum, Reafan, seu corvus, dictum: ingens ethnicorum istorum fiducia. Quippe vexillum illud corvi simulachro magice intextum fuerat a tribus Hinguari et Hubbæ sororibus. Ælfredi vita. L. i. p. 31. Affer Menevensis had before mentioned the same circumstance. Anno 878. Eodem anno Frater Hynguari et Healfdenæ cum 23 navibus de Demeticâ regione, in quâ hyemaverat—ad Damnaniam enavigavit; et ibi a ministris Regis—occisus est ante arcem Cynuit.—Quo tempore etiam acceperunt illud vexillum, quod Reafan nominant: dicunt enim, quod tres Sorores Hungaræ et Hubbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodebrochi, illud vexillum texuerunt, p. 33. The brother of Inguar

* See also Snorro Sturlesonius. C. 7. p. 8.

and

and Halfdeane said to be slain in this battle; was the Hubba here mentioned, whom they buried at a place, denominated from him, Hubba's-Lowe. There seems to have been another battle fought with the Danes at Chipenham; which Pontanus styles, Chipenham pagum prope Bristolum. L. iv. p. 105. It was not properly at Chipenham, that this battle was fought: nor was this place in the vicinity of Bristol. There were two victories gained; the one by Osdun over Hinguar and Hubba, as has been before mentioned: the other by Alfred in person. This last was at a place, named in the Saxon Chronicle, and by Affer Menevenfis, Ethandune. It is a town in Wiltshire, where it is said of Alfred, Paganos maximâ cæde prostravit. Affer, p. 34. It is very near to Chipenham; and here, I imagine, that a second time a raven standard was taken. *Interca post pascha illius anni (scil. 878.) coop-tavit bellum Ælfred Rex adversus exercitus, qui in Cippenhamme fuere in loco Ethandune; victoriæque obtinent numen.* * Ethelwerdi Chron. p. 845. The place is now called Eddington, and lies in Wiltshire. That this standard was again taken may be inferred from Pontanus. And he here corrects the English historians, who called it

* See also Simeon Dunelm. p. 146.

Reofan; and informs us, that the name was a compound, and properly expressed Ravn-fan; from Ravn, or Rafn, *a raven*; and fan a *banner*. The Saxon Chronicle seems to be pretty exact in respect to this matter; and describes this standard nearly according to the sentiments of Pontanus. The author of it is speaking of the first battle at Kenwith Castle; and informs us — þar pæs re Luð-pana genumen, þe hi pæfen heton. *There was the Guth-fan, or war standard, taken, which they called the Raven.* p. 84. l. 34. It was by the Saxons stiled simply the Rafen: but in composition both Guth-fana, and Ravn-fana: for Fan, and Fana, signified an ensign; and also any device upon it. Guth-fana signified the * *war-standard*; Rafn-fana, the *Raven standard*. In the same Chronicle we have an account of a victory gained by King Athelstan about the year 938. In this battle there are said to have been seven standards taken from the Danes, the devices of which are specified. They were the Eagle, the Kite, the Toad, the Dog, the Wolf: also Hpæfn Bryttian yalu pipadan, *the Raven, devouring the flesh of Britons*; and þone ppeaptan hpæfn, hýpned nibban: *and the swart Raven, with the hard horned nib or beak.*

* Guth, prælium, bellum. Lye and Manning Sax. Dict.

p. 113. l. 33. As this device was so common among the Danes; the poet with great propriety says, when they were seen to run away—Fear gave them wings, and that they fled like a *raven*.

The Danes wyth terrotire rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyre bannere talle, & lyche a ravenne
fledde.

The Raven was used for an ensign by other nations. Sigurd of the Orkneys, a Norwegian by family, had a sacred standard with the same device, given him by his mother, who was said to be an enchantress. Tradito vexillo, in hoc, inquit, omnem artem impendi. Cui præfertur, nunquam non victoriam, sed ferenti lethum, portendit. Miro artificio formam Corvi repræsentabat: flanteque vento sublatum, volantis speciem. Torphæi Hist. Orcadum. L. i. C. 10. p. 27. The like description is given of the raven made by Hubba's sisters. It is said to have had motion; and to have appeared, as if alive.

This reference in the poem to the standard, which this people held so sacred, is very natural, as well as poetical. The Danes themselves in their songs had the like references. Regner Lodbrog in his funeral dirge alludes to the devices upon the Danish standards, when he speaks of the Eagle, the Hawk, the
Wolf,

Wolf, the Dragon. And in recounting the many battles, in which he had been engaged, he mentions that these animals were fatiated with blood. The *Rafn*, occurs more frequently, than any.

* *Omnis erat oceanus vulnus,
Vadebat Rafn in sanguine cæforum.*

This may explain, what is said in another part of the play; which otherwise would not be intelligible. That, which I refer to, is in p. 122. v. 663, where the soldiers of *Ælla* beg to be led on against the Danes.

Onn, *Ælla*, onn; we long for bloodie fraie:
We longe to here the Raven syng in vain.
Onn, *Ælla*, onn, we certys gayne the daie,
Whanne thou doste leade us to the leathal playne.

In another place (p. 137. v. 865.) a person says—

Harke the Ravenne flaps hys wing.

Again, p. 121. v. 641.

Thanne, whanne the Ravenne crokes uponne the
playne,
Oh! lette ytt bee the knelle to myghtie Dacians
slayne.

In all these passages the poet alludes to the sacred standard: which is spoken of as if gifted with life: and it was in some measure esteemed so by the Danes. *Dicunt enim,*

* *Olaus Wormius*, p. 199.

O

quod

quod in omni bello, ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, apparet in medio signi, quasi Corvus vivus volitans. Sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe, nihil movens : et hoc sæpe probatum est. Affer Menevensis ad annum. 878.

W A T C H E T.

I have mentioned, that one of the principal places, where the Danes landed, in the west, was Weched, by the Saxons expressed Weceb : among whom the letter c was often pronounced like ch. They called it Weched, and Weched-port : and from hence came the name of Watchett : by which it has been distinguished in later times. It occurs in Rowley, p. 118. and p. 125. where the army is said to be near *Watchette* ; and the Danes are represented as running away near *Watchette*. Celmonde, v. 1078, speaks of his engaging in fight near *Watchette* : and Ælla is said to have been detained there after the battle, on account of his wounds. Birtha says

* Celdmonde dyd comme to me at tyme of reste,
Wordeynge for mee to flie, att youre requeste,
To *Watchette* towne, where you decessynge laie.

* P. 1231.

Now,

Now, though it is a matter of no great moment, yet I am persuaded, that in all these instances the original reading was *Weched*: which has been unduly altered to the more modern name, *Watchet*. Lambarde, comparatively a late writer, mentions it by the name of *Weched*, and *Weched-port*: and so it is called by every ancient historian. Besides the transcriber does not seem to have observed, that the place expressed by him *Watchett*, where *Ælla* lay wounded, was the same, which before had been called *Wedecester*, v. 943.

Ælla fore wounded ys yn bykerous fraie;
In *Wedecester's* wallid toune he lyes.

It was the very place, which they set out to defend from the enemy, who was advancing towards it:

Haste swythen, fore anieghe the towne theie bee,
And *Wedecesterres* rolle of dome bee fulle. v. 244.

There seem to be in this passage more mistakes than one. The term *fore* may be instead of *for*: or else an abbreviation of *before*. If this be the case, there will not need any alteration. But what is here expressed *fore*, I imagine to have been in the original *ore*, sometimes expressed *or*, and *eer*. The sense is to this amount. The Danes are upon the coast:

Haste swythen, ore anieghe the towne theie bee,
And *Wedecesters* rolle of dome bee fulle;

That is, *Make hast, ere they beset the place and take it*: for it was the key of the country, and had been fortified accordingly. In the next place it is plain from history, as well as from the poem, that this Wedecester was the same as Watchet: for here Ælla is said afterwards to have been confined by his wounds. It should therefore have been rendered in every instance, not *Wedecester*, for there was no such place: but *Wecedcester*; as is manifest from the best authorities. We find it called *Weced*, and *Weced-port*, *Weched*, and *Weched-port*, by various authors. So it occurs in the Saxon Chronicle; in Asser Menevensis, in Matthew of Westminster, Henry of Huntingdon, Lambarde, Camden, and other writers. Roger Hovedon names it *Weced-port*, and says, * Anno 988, *Weced-port a Danicis Piratis devastatur*. From this *Weced*, and *Weched*, came the modern name *Watchet*: and they reciprocally prove each other to be one and the same place from the history, with which they are accompanied. We may therefore be assured, that what the transcriber has expressed *Wedecester* should be rendered *Weced-cester*, or *Weched-cester*; for that was the true name. And we may, I think, be further certified, that, if the place was called in composition *Weched-cester*, the

* P. 427.

name uncompounded must have been in every instance *Weched*. When therefore we find it rendered *Watchet*, we may presume, that it is an innovation of the transcriber; who was not versed in antiquity. He accordingly, as he was ignorant of the propriety of the ancient term, altered it to another, with which he was better acquainted.

It may be urged, *that it does not seem likely that the name should be sometimes used in composition; and sometimes simple and alone. The author would have been more uniform, if the poems had been genuine.* But this objection is of no weight: and the mode of procedure amounts to no more, than if a writer, in speaking of King Edward the Third, should in one part of his work say, that he kept his court at *Windsor*; and in another at *Windsor Castle*. The very thing, of which we are speaking, we find done by the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He tells us, p. 105: that anno 918, the Danes landed at Portloc and *Weched*. He afterwards, anno 987, alludes to another landing, and says—*Weceð-port* *pær* *gehep* *gōð*: *Weched-port* was *barried* and *laid waste*. Again, anno 997, he tells us, that the same people came up to *Weched-port*; and did great mischief. Hence we find, that the place was called *Weched*, *Weched-port*, and by our author, *Weched-*

cester; according as it was referred to, as a town, a port, or a castle. London is stiled Lundene, Lundone, Lundenwic, Lundenburgh, and Lundenbýrig (Londonbury) in the same * volume.

It has been my purpose to shew from the best authorities two things: first, that what has been expressed *Wedecester*, was originally *Wecedcester*, or *Wechedcester*: and secondly, that *Wachett*, the modern name, must in the poem have been expressed *Weched*.

B R I S T O L.

As Ælla is said to have been the Warden of Bristol Castle, it may be proper to say something concerning the history of this place; and above all to shew that it existed in the times spoken of; otherwise our labour hitherto will have been but ill expended. I mention this, because that very celebrated antiquary Lambarde has surmised, that it was a place of no great antiquity. Now if there were no such place as Bristol, we may presume, that there was no such person as Ælla: and all, that we have been building upon this supposition, falls to the ground. The words of Lambarde, which immediately re-

* Saxon. Chron. See also Lambarde.

late to my purpose, are these. Bristow, Venta Belgarum. Lat. Caernante Badon—Brytan :——*There is no mention of it in the Saxon Chronicles, wherby I gesf it to have takinge the begynninge not long before the Conquest,* p. 30. The Saxon Chronicles are so very few and short, that we must not wonder, if several places of great antiquity are not mentioned in them. But how can this learned man suppose it to have been rather of a modern construction; if the ancient name were Venta Belgarum, a name mentioned by the Romans? But in reality the city stiled Venta Belgarum was Winchester: as, I believe, our most experienced antiquaries agree. And as to the omission of the name by Saxon writers, it is not precisely true: for it is to be found in the * Saxon Chronicle: where it is said, that in the year 1088, Gosfrith the Bishop of Constance, and Rodbear, a Norman nobleman, went to Bricg-ſtope, *Bricg-stowe*, and spoiled it, together with the castle. This last they made the repository of the plunder, which they got in the neighbouring parts. The same history is mentioned by Simeon of † Durham, and Radulfus de Diceto, and others: but this was after the Conquest. Florence of Worcester

* P. 192.

† P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmens. p. 185. l. 36:

speaks of it as a place of some consequence, and a sea-port, in the time of the Saxon King Edward : at whose command Harold is said to have set sail from thence. * De Bricstowe classificâ manu profectus magnâ ex parte terram Walanorum † circumnavigabat. We may from hence perceive, that it was a place of shipping in the times of the Saxons. William of Malmſbury, who lived very early, speaks of it as a town of note ; and, as we may infer, of ancient repute. In eâdem valle (Glocestrenſi) eſt vicus celeberrimus Briſtow, in quo eſt navium portus ab Hybernîâ, et Norvegiâ, et cæteris tranſmarinis terris venientium, receptaculum, p. 283. He ſpeaks of it only as a town, vicus celeberrimus : and ſo does Robert of Glouceſter : but it is in a place, where he is enumerating all the moſt ancient cities of the land, which he ſtiles towns : ſo that under whatever denomination Briſtow may occur, it was of the ſame rank and eſtimation, as they were. Among the ancient places mentioned by this writer, are

London, and Everwik, Lyncolne, and Leiceſtre, Colcheſtre, and Canterbury, *Briſtow*, and Wirceſtre.
p. 2. l. 21,

* P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmeſ. p. 185. l. 36.

† It is mentioned by Robert Brunne.

Godwÿn went to Flanders, unto the erle Baldwÿn.
At Briſtowe in tille Ireland ſchipped Harald & Loſwÿn.
p. 59. l. 1.

Henry

Henry of Huntingdon also, enumerating the most ancient cities, mentions this as one among twenty-eight. Civitatum autem nomina hæc erant Britannia: Kair-Ebranc, id est Eboracum: Kair-Chent, i Cantuaria. Kair-Goragon i Wigornia: Kair Lundene, i Lundonia: Kair-Legion i Leiceastria:—Kair-BRISTOW, &c.—L. i. p. 298. The place is certainly of great antiquity: and was of old looked upon as a city. It was well known before the days of King Athelstan; for his brother King Edward was slain at a place, which is pointed out by its being in the vicinity of Bristow.

Suthth aday, as the king sat at ys mete
At Pokelchyrche bysyde Brystow—

There one Lof, or Leof,—*a luther traytor*—

Smot the king wyth a knyf in the breste, &c.

Rob. of Gloucest. p. 277. l. 9.

After the Conquest it was very much improved by different persons, and particularly by Robert, a natural son of Henry the First. This was the person, whom the king wanted to marry to Mabile, the heiress of Robert Fitz Haym, or Haymon; who had been a nobleman of great estate in these parts. The lady, it seems, knew her worth; and refused to give her hand to a person, who had but one name, and no title. The king promised to remedy this default; and to give him both title and name. He accordingly denominated
him

him Fitz Roy, and made him Earl of Gloucester. Robert residing in the vicinity of Bristol, saw very soon the excellence of its situation; and improved it greatly. Of Robert the Father of Mabile we have the following histories in Leland. * *Gulielmus Rufus processu temporis dedit honorem Glocestriæ Roberto Filio Haymonis cum omni libertate, quâ cum tenuit † Brictricus. Robertus Filius Haymonis duxit in uxorem sebillam sororem Roberti Belesmi, Comitis Salapiæ. Genuit ex eâ filias, Mabiliam, Hawisiam, Ceciliam, Amiciam.*

‡ Anno D. 1102, Robertus Filius Haymonis—Ecclesiam de Theokesbyri ex novo fecit, et novis possessionibus ditavit.—Obijt, id. Mart. a°. D. 1107, an. 7. Henrici primi. Sepultus est Theokesbiriæ in domo capitulari. This person is likewise mentioned by Robert of Gloucester.

§ *Syre Roberd le fyz Haym, that let vorst arere
The abbey of Teukesbury & monekes broghte there.*

He also takes notice of the king's offer to the fair Mabile of his son Robert, whom she refused for his failure in point of nobility. She is accordingly made to say—

* Itin. v. 6. p. 73.

† Of this person I shall speak hereafter.

‡ Leland. supra.

§ P. 431. l. 5.

Syre

* Sýre Roberd le Fýz Haym my fader name was,
 And that ne myght nogt be hys, that of hys kunne
 nogt nas.
 Thervore, fyre, vor Gode's loue, ne let me non man
 owe,
 Bote he abbe an tuo name, war thoru he be ýknowe.
 Damayfele, quath the kýng, thou feýft wel in thýs
 cas,
 Sýre Roberd le Fýz Haym thý fadere's name was,
 &c. &c.

The king assures her further to the same purpose.

† Damasele, he feýde tho, thý loverd sal abbe an
 name,
 Vor hým & vor hys eýres vayr wýth out blame.
 Vor Roberd erl of Gloucestre hys name sal be
 and ýs;
 Vor he sal be erl of Gloucestre, and hys eýres, ýwis.
 Sýre, quath the mayde tho, wel lýketh me thýs:
 In thýs fourme ýcholle, that al mý thýng be hys.

The author afterwards mentions his great services to the town of Bristol.

† — The vorst erl of Gloucestre thus was ýmad
 there—
 Roberd, that spoused the rýgt eýr, Kýng Henry fone,
 That vor hys gode dede worth, ých wene, evere in
 mone,
 And Brystow thour hys wýf was also hys,
 And he broght in gret sta the toun, as he gut ýs.
 And rerde ther an castel mýd the noble tour,
 That of al the tours of Engeland ýs ýholde flour.
 The priorýe of Seyn Jemes in the north fyde alute
 He rerde of blake monckes, as hys body lýth gute.

* Leland. p. 432. l. 1.

† P. 432. l. 15.

† P. 433. l. 5.

I quote

I quote from this writer very often : for though he is far inferior to Rowley in rythm and harmony ; yet he is often fimilar to him in language. Hence he may sometimes be introduced by way of illustrating the latter writer : and may serve to take off many objections, which are brought against him. It has been urged against Rowley, that oftentimes, if we only change the spelling, his verses will appear in great meature modern ; and the language of the present times. The same will be found in many other writers, and particularly in * Robert of Gloucester, though older by two centuries.

* The former part modernised.

*Damsel, he said then, thy lover shall have a name,
For him and for his heirs, fair without blame :
For Robert Earl of Gloucester his name shall be, and is :
For he shall be Earl of Gloucester and his heirs ywis.*
(i. e. assuredly.)

*Sir, quoth the Maid then, well liketh me this.
In this form (ycholle) I will, that all my things be his.
The first Earl of Glocester thus was made there.
Robert, that espoused the right heir, King Henry's son,
That for his good deeds worth, I ween, (was) ever in
mind. (i. e. remembered.)
And Bristow thorough his wife was also his,
And he brought into great stead (or state) the town as it
(gut) yet is, &c.*

S U M M E R T O N S.

Godwin in the tragedy is made to say to his son Harold, p. 179. v. 31.

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall ryse.

I have taken notice before, that Godwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Gloucestershire; of which county Somerton was the principal place. I mention this, because in all the Danish wars, with which this part of England was particularly afflicted; I do not remember, that the name of this place occurs. Yet it must have been a town of note, and of long standing; for it seems to have given name to the county. This may serve to take off our wonder, if the name of Bristol, which must have been of equal * antiquity, is not more frequently mentioned. The people in the passage above are called Summertons, from their town, just as the Londoners are so denominated from their city. In the Saxon Chronicle mention is made, that Summerton, anno 733, was taken by Ethelbald, who was a king of Mercia. But Lambarde thinks, that this Summerton, was a place in Lancashire.

* I have shewn, that it was numbered among the most ancient cities of Britain.

G R O N F Y R E.

G R O N F Y R E.

I have taken notice, that in these poems there are often allusions to circumstances of the times; to remote and obscure events: to which, one would think, nobody but a person of the same age could have been induced to refer. And I have shewn by many examples, that the transcriber, through whom we receive these writings, could never arrive at this occult knowledge. There are many dark hints and intimations, with which he was totally unacquainted. From these secret allusions I have been induced to think, that some of these poems were not even of the age of Rowley; but far antecedent: being composed by some person, or persons, who were not far removed from the times and events, which they celebrate. Such was the Battle of Hastings, and the account of King Richard in his progress to the Holy-land. The article above, upon which I am going to treat, will fully explain my purpose.

In the chorus to the tragedy of Godwin, the poet in some very fine lines describes a formidable personage, and says,—

Alyche twaie brendynge *Gronfyres* rolls hys eyes.

p. 195. v. 200.

The term by the expositor is explained a *meteor*.

The like occurs in the second eclogue.

Kynge Rycharde lyche a lyoncel of warre,
Inne sheenyng goulde, lyke feerie * *gronfers* dyghte.

P. 9. v. 45.

It is here said to be derived from *gron*, a *fen*, and *fer*, a corruption of fire. Hence we may perceive, that it is taken for a common ignis fatuus; the same, which the country people stile a *Will of the wisp*, and *Jack a lantern*. On this account the expositor has been induced to derive it from *gron*, a *fen*. But there is nothing in an ignis fatuus, which agrees with the descriptions here given. This meteor, the ignis fatuus, is represented as a vague, playful, and innocent light; in which there is nothing terrible or alarming. Besides a Gronfire is plainly a *ground-fire*, from † *gron*, and *grun*, solum. See Olai Verelii Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. It was expressed A S. *grunð*. solum. fundum. Al. *grunt*. B. *grond*. See Lye's Etymolog. Ang. Moreover from the comparison it is evident, that something is alluded to, which was of a very fearful nature, and of an uncommon appearance. Whatever it may have been, we find it again

* It should be *gronfer* in the singular.

† *Gron* signifies undoubtedly a marshy place: but also solid ground.

referred

referred to, though in different terms, p. 180.
v. 50.

Lyche a battent lowe mie fwerde shalle brende.

Now what have we similar, by which these descriptions can be explained? Nothing, that I am apprised of, now a days. But I think, that there were of old some phenomena, mentioned by the more early historians of this country, which will illustrate the point greatly. In the Saxon Chronicle we read, that in the year 1032, there were earthquakes in many parts of this kingdom: and that a sad mortality ensued: and, what is very particular, there were seen fires of an uncommon appearance, *such as were never seen before*. They broke out of the earth in different places, and did a great deal of * mischief. Simeon Dunelmensis takes notice of earthquakes happening; and of a like fire appearing a few years after, anno 1048. He speaks of it as breaking out in Derbyshire, and some neighbouring counties; and being of an alarming nature: and he concludes

* þær on þýrrum gear atýðe þat pilde fíre, þe

Nan man ærþær nan oþær, ƿýlc ne gemunde, &c. p. 154.

See also Roger de Hoveden, p. 440. Hence we may perceive, that the artificial fire, called *wild fire* at this day, took its name from the similitude, it bore to these *battent lowes* and *gronfires*, which broke out in the times specified.

with

with saying —villas et segetes multas ustulavit. Hist. Ang. Script. Decem. p. 183. It is recorded by John Brompton nearly in the same manner. He mentions the mortality, which then prevailed; and the mischief, which was done by these fires. *ibid.* p. 939. l. 48. The like phænomenon is said to have appeared in the next century, according to Hollinshed, as well as other writers. He mentions in the reign of Henry the First, that there were earthquakes similar to the former: and that fires came out of the earth with great violence; which could not by water, nor by any means, be * subdued. *Holling. v. 2. p. 44.* Fires of this nature must have had a very formidable appearance. And it was not any fenny meteor, but undoubtedly these groundfires, to which the poet alluded. It is remarkable, that the first appearance of them was anno 1032: and the second, if not a continuation of the same phænomenon, was anno 1048: both in the days of Earl Godwin, from whom the tragedy has its name. So that the comparison, there made, agrees very well with the times; and with the event, by which they were distinguished. The last instance of such fires

* See an account of a similar phænomenon in Germany, mentioned by Tacitus.

was not indeed in the days of King * Richard, who is the person concerned in the second Eclogue, yet not so far removed, but that there might have been persons living, by whom they were seen. The memory of them could not have been soon effaced. Hence it was natural for persons, who were treating of these times, to introduce those circumstances, which so particularly marked them. For the justness of these comparisons was very apparent in those days: which fitness and propriety is lost, if they are introduced at a later season, and by another hand. It is from such remote and secret references, that I am induced to think, that some of these poems are of a greater antiquity, than has generally been attributed to them. As to the person, who has attempted to explain them, it is manifest, that he proceeded merely by surmise, and conjecture. He was not acquainted with the latent purport of these references: and the conclusion, which necessarily follows, is, I think, very plain.

* They happened anno 1135, in the last year of King Henry the First. See Polydore Vergil. p. 195.

THE ARGENT HORSE.

Earl Goodwin says to his son Harold, that if he will but wait for a proper opportunity, he may depend upon the people of Kent rising in arms : and adds—

Agayne the Argent Horfe shall daunce in skies.

P. 179. v. 33.

There is great propriety in the words here mentioned : for though the White Horfe may have been an emblem among many of the Saxon Kings in their several principalities ; yet it was more particularly adopted by the Kings of Kent. The name of *Hengist* is well known to have signified an *horfe* : and it is, I believe, allowed, that a white Horfe was the constant device in his standard. And he was in this copied by the princes, who succeeded him, as long as that kingdom lasted. During the Heptarchy, the kings in other parts had their several devices. Among the West Saxons mention is made of a Red Dragon, which was borne before Cuthred, in his engagement with Ethelbald, the Mercian, by Edelhun, his standard-bearer. *Aciebus igitur dispositis, Edelhun, præcedens Westfaxenses, Regis insigne, Draconem*

P 2

scilicet

scilicet aureum, gerens, transforavit Vexilliferum hostilem. H. Huntingd. L. 4. p. 341. There are other evidences of the Saxons having often a Dragon in their standard. Matthew of Westminster supposes the custom to have been transmitted from Uther Pendragon. Uther Caput Draconis; unde usque hodie mos inolevit Regibus terræ hujus, quod pro vexillo Draconem in bellicis expeditionibus ante se statuerint * deferendum. p. 94. ad. ann. 498. Camden mentions the like from the authority of Hoveden, p. 24. and speaks of the custom as subsisting in the time of Richard the First. The same is to be found in Matthew Paris. Rex igitur—cum suis mox progreditur, vexillis explicatis, præcedente eum signo regio, nuncium mortis prætendente, quod Draconem vocavit. p. 995. There was also a standard called Tuffa, mentioned by Bede, L. ii. C. 16. and likewise by Henry of Huntingdon, as carried before King Edwin. Ubique autem ante Regem vexilla gestabantur, nec non per

* The like history is given by Robert of Gloucester. To riche dragons of gold *he lette make anon.* p. 154. l. 9. It is said of King Arthur—*he ys dragon yverd of gold.* ibid. p. 214. l. 1.

Also of Edmund Ironside.

And Edmond ydygt hys standard—& hys dragon up yset. ibid. p. 303. l. 18.

plateas

plateas illud genus vexilli, quod Romani Tuffam, Angli Tuf, appellant. p. 316. From hence we may perceive, that our poet had many examples of standards: and out of these he might have chosen that, which most pleased him, to embellish his poem. But he abides by the truth, and gives to the people of Kent an Argent Horse salient; which was their proper national device, transmitted to them from their first King Hengist.

SAINT CUTHBERT.

King Harold at the Battle of Hastings says,

Godde & Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie.

p. 212. v. 40.

The same person is mentioned more than once; for his name was held in high esteem, and reverence. He had been a monk, and afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarn, and for his piety was sainted. Out of regard to his memory, a large extent of country was given to the church of Durham; which was called the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. King Egfrid, while Cuthbert was still living, gave on his account much land to the church of York; as we learn from * Simeon Dunelmensis. This saint was particularly honoured

* De Eccles. Dunelmensis. p. 4.

in the north, as being esteemed the patron of those people against the Scots. In process of time the veneration for him increased; and his name is more than once mentioned in these poems. Hence in the second Battle of Hastings it is said—

* Adhelm, a knyghte, whose holie deathless fire
For ever bended to St. Cuthberts shryne.

He is referred to in other parts of the poem.

† Tapre as candles layde at Cuthbert's shryne.

Again in another place.

‡ O Afflem, son of Cuthbert, holie sayncte.

Again—

§ Then praid St. Cuthbert, and our holie dame,
To blesse his labour, and to heal the same.

The reason of this arose from his being looked upon as a tutelary saint by the Saxons in general; and from the particular assistance, which he was supposed to have afforded to King Alfred, when he was well nigh ruined by the Danes. The story is told by Robert of Gloucester, who mentions Cuthbert's appearing to the king the night before the battle of Assendune, and accosting him in the following words.

|| Ich am, he seyde, Cutbert, to the ycham ywend,
To brynge the gode tytynge, fram God ycham
ysend.

* P. 256. v. 391. † P. 259. v. 441. ‡ P. 213. v. 61.
§ P. 231. v. 459. || P. 254. l. 23.

He assures him of victory ; and as a token, that he may depend upon his words, he mentions a miracle by way of confirmation. Your men, says he, are gone to fish in a bad season ; but they shall catch such a quantity, as at any time would be surprising, but especially now, when the rivers are all frozen.

And the mor vor the harde vorste, that the water yfrore
hys

That the more agen the * kunde of vyssynge yt ys.
Of serve yt wel agen God, and ylef me ys messager,
And thou shal thy wylle abyde, as ycham ytold her.

Alfred upon this engaged in battle with the Danes, and gained a compleat victory. In consequence of this Cuthbert was looked upon as a † guardian angel ; and he seems to have been esteemed a particular patron of the Saxon soldiers.

The same history is told at large by the Abbot of Rievall ; by William of Malmfbury, p. 276 ; and Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 71. who wrote the life of St. Cuthbert : and from these it is retailed by Serenus Cressy, p. 753, 4. Asser Menevensis, who lived at the time, mentions, that the battle was fought, divino nutu ; but says nothing of Cuthbert and the vision. Nor does the au-

* i. e. the nature.

† Iste Deus Septentrionalium Anglorum tutelar is habebatur. Bale, p. 82.

thor of the Saxon Chronicle take notice of it. However such a story being propagated, got the saint great * esteem : and it must not be wondered at, if he was invoked at the battle of Hastings ; as he was supposed to have been particularly averse to the Normans. Even after the conquest, when William the Conqueror was at Durham, with some of his principal friends, and they all doubted of St. Cuthbert's sanctity ; he is said to have vindicated his honour in a wonderful manner. John Brompton, p. 972. Also when his church in the same place, through some tumults raised by the Normans, had like to have been burnt, it was in a like extraordinary manner preserved. Simeon Dunelmens. p. 38. l. 43. He died about the year 687.

T U R G O T T E.

Oh Turgotte, whersoever thie spryte dothe
haunte, &c. p. 267. v. 591.

This person seems to have been of note in his time ; and is accordingly spoken of with great respect. He lived in the reign of the

* In consequence of it, by the liberal donations of several Saxon princes, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert became very extensive, as we may learn from Camden, p. 933. One instance see in Roger Hoveden, p. 658. being a gift of King Richard the First : also p. 667.

Conqueror, and of his son Rufus ; and survived to the fifteenth year of King Henry the First. He was * Archdeacon of Durham, anno 1087 ; and Prior of the monastery in that place : and was invited by Malcolm the Third to be Archbishop of St. Andrew's ; where he presided eight years. Among other things said of him by Bale, we have the following history. † Turgottus Dunelmensis Monasterij secundus Præses ; Decanus et per diæcesim Primarius, multarum rerum peritus vir erat : et in operationibus externis sobrius, prudens, et modestissimus.—Vitâ functus est anno a nostri Messiae nativitate 1115. His great worth was particularly known to Margaret, the wife of Malcolm above mentioned, and the sister of Edgar Atheling : and it was by her advice, that the king sent for him to Scotland. He must have answered the hopes, which had been conceived of him by that prince ; as we have the following history transmitted in his favour by Hector Boethius. ‡ Post hæc Wilhelmus Anglorum Rex Normannus vitâ functus est, anno regni vigesimo, et salutis nostræ supra millesimum octogesimo sexto, &c. Eo-

* Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 53, 54. See Hist. Ang. Script. Decem.

† Bale, p. 169.

‡ P. 260, 1.

dem anno Malcolmus, diruto veteri Dunelmensi templo, novi fundamenta jecit; Wilhelmo sacrae illius sedis Episcopo, et Turgoto Priore; viro sanctissimo eruditissimoque; qui post aliquantum temporis sancti Andreae factus Episcopus, vitam Margaretae et Malcolmi Regis conscripsit, vernaculâ quidem lingua, &c. Idem Turgotus, ubi aliquamdiu maximo cum fructu munus suum administrâset, vitâ defunctus, et in Dunelmiam delatus, ubi prioratûs officium antea gesserat, sepultus est.

Simeon * Dunelmensis has given a much larger account of his life: and says, that he was of a creditable family; and intimates, what is very natural to suppose, that he was no friend to the Normans. He was in his youth one of the hostages, which the Conqueror demanded for the security of some of the western provinces; on which account he had been kept under a guard in the castle at Lincoln. But he found means to escape; and got on board a Norwegian ship upon the coast; where he for a time hid himself. It unfortunately happened, that in this very ship went over persons, whom William had sent to treat with Olave King of Norway. Turgot was discovered: but by his address so won upon the people of the ship, that they would not suffer the Normans to do any

* Simeon Dunelmens. De Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 206.

thing

thing to his prejudice. When they came to land, he was presented to Olave; and behaved with so much discretion, and was of so much service to the people of the country, that after some time he was sent home loaded with presents. But encountering with a storm, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his wealth. He upon this took to the church, about the year 1074: and was afterwards admitted as a monk by Aldwin, who had been Prior of Winchelcomb, and was now of Durham. This was performed at Wermouth: *ibi *Aldwinus Turgoto monachicum habitum tradidit.* About this time there was uncommon reverence shewed to the memory of St. Cuthbert; and to his remains, which had been deposited by Bishop Aldan in the church at Durham. Neither Aldwin nor Turgot were behind hand in zeal towards this person. And Walcherus, who was bishop, about this time, purposed to have built a monastery for the sole reception of the saint's body; but was prevented by death, being slain in a popular tumult. Turgot having for eight years presided at the see of St. Andrew's, grew at last disquieted, on account of some things not answering to his wishes; and purposed taking a journey to Rome for

* Simeon Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dunelmens. L. 3. C. 22. P. 45.

the advice of Pope Paschalis. But he grew too weak in body for such an expedition : and having requested to retire to Durham, he set out accordingly ; and stopped first at Weremouth. Towards this place he bore a great affection : as it was here that he first received the monk's habit at the hands of his beloved master Aldwin. Here he performed mass, and then proceeded to Durham. His illness seems to have been a slow fever, which held him for two months, when he died. *Intra manus Fratrum suorum animam exhalavit, &c.—impetrato munere a Deo, quod sedulo rogaverat, ut apud sacrum Cuthberti corpus animam redderet.—Obijt autem anno ab incarnatione Dominicâ M. C. xv. Simeon Dunelm. p. 53. also 206, 7, 8.*

The following works are attributed to him by Hector Boethius, and by Bale.

The History of the Kings of Scotland.

The Chronicles of Durham.

The Annals of his own time.

The Life of King Malcolm the Third.

The Life of Margaret his Queen.

They mention other writings, which are not specified. The History of his own time, according to the very learned Mr. Selden, is suspected to be the same, which goes under the name of Simeon of Durham ; who is supposed to have unjustly taken the honour of

of it to himself, and put it off for his own. Leland mentions, that Turgot was buried with Aldwin, and Walcher, and that the tomb remained in his time. * *Sepulchra Episcoporum Dunelmensium in Capitulo.*—*Turgotus Episcopus, Aldunus, et Walkerus in uno tumulo.*

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

I am persuaded, that the original poem of the Battle of Hastings, was by the hand of the person, concerning whom I have been treating. How far it may have been altered by Rowley, is uncertain. A great change may have been wrought by him: and other alterations may have been made afterwards by the person, through whose hands we more immediately receive it. Yet after all, there are strong marks of originality; numberless curious allusions; with references to past histories; which are many times irretrievable. That Rowley had such a composition before him, from whence he copied the principal parts of the poem, seems I think to be intimated in that invocation to Turgott, wherein he acknowledges, that at times he had been greatly indebted to him.

* Itin. v. 8. p. 7.

Oh Turgotte,—

Whereer thou art, come & my mynde enleme
Wyth such greete thoughtes, as dyd with thee abyde,
Thou sonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme.

p. 267. v. 591.

In these verses he plainly acknowledges his obligations to Turgott; though he does not precisely tell us, how deeply he may have been indebted; nor wherein the obligation principally lay. He however owns, that he had been often obliged. Indeed he was in every respect so far removed from the person, to whom he addresses himself; and was otherwise so totally unconnected with him; that all invocation had been idle; and in a manner impossible; had not the other led the way; and treated of the same subject.

There are other reasons, which lead me to think, that among the Mss. of Rowley, there were writings of Turgott; or at least copies from some of his compositions: and moreover, that they were subscribed *Turgottus Dunelmensis*. Otherwise I cannot conceive, what could have induced Chatterton, who was of Bristol, to choose this title for his own signature; and uniformly to subscribe himself *Dunelmensis* *Bristolienfis*. This is the title subjoined to many of the compositions sent abroad by him, especially to those, which he thought proper to mark as his own. Hence I am persuaded, that among the writings

ings in Rowley's possession, and afterwards deposited in Redcliff Tower, there were transcripts from the compositions of Turgottus Dunelmensis; and from hence Chatterton assumed his title. There were particularly some, which related to the Battle of Hastings. In the Memoires of Sir William Canynge by * Rowley, which, I think, may be proved to be a genuine work, this is plainly intimated. In consequence of which we find, that the account of this battle is very particular, and abounds with references to ancient and abstruse history. Some of these may be explained and authenticated: others are too remote and obscure to admit of any explanation: yet there is no reason to imagine, but that they are well founded. Upon the morning of the engagement, a just description is given of the over security of the English; who had been wassailing in drink: and were for the most part intoxicated: and on the other hand of the decency, which prevailed in the opposite army; and of the religious concern, which appeared in their leader, the Duke of Normandy. The matins-bell and mass-song are very properly remembered. The author takes notice of the brown-bills, in which the English particularly con-

* See Tracts published under the name of Thomas Chatterton.

fided, and of the bows of the Normans ; which then seem to have been first known in these parts : and by which the advantage was at last gained. They were soon adopted by the English, who in a short time excelled their masters in the use of the long bow : and by means of it obtained many important victories. The author very properly makes the Kentish men take the lead in the commencement of the engagement, for the van was always the post assigned to them in all battles : a piece of history not very obvious, yet founded in * truth.

The Kentysh men inne fronte for strengt renowned.

p. 243. v. 112.

The name of Saint Cuthbert being so often repeated, agrees well with the times ; and with the history of the person, from whom I suppose the poem to be borrowed. There appears a like fitness and propriety in other articles : such as the Duke of Normandy, when he advanced, singing the famous song of Rowland.

This Willyam saw, and foundynge Rowland's songe,
He bent his yron interwoven bowe. p. 249. v. 241.

All this is consonant to true history ; and is mentioned by Matthew Paris. † Tum Ro-

* Johannes Salisburiensis in Polychratico. Rapin. v. i. p. 141.

† Matthew Paris, p. 3.

landi carmine inchoato, ut animos militum accenderet, prælium commisit. When Harold kills a person of great stature, and he tumbles dead at his feet; his fall is compared to that of an high building.

So fell the myghtie *tower* of Standrip, whenne

It felte the furie of the Danish menne. p. 213. v. 59.

We know, that in the north there were numberless castles built, to prevent the incursions of the Scots and Picts. Many of these were taken and ruined by the Danes; by whom the provinces in the north were very early infested. And though we have no account of this particular fact, nor was it indeed of sufficient consequence to be inserted in history; yet the town of * Standrip exists; and is situated not far from Raby Castle, in the county of Durham. Here we may reasonably suppose, that the above mentioned tower stood; till it was undermined and ruined: the overthrow of which might well be recorded by the people of those parts. It was a natural circumstance for a poet to allude to, who lived in the neighbourhood, and to whose church the manor belonged. Of this place we have an account in Lambard, taken partly from the Chronicon Lindisfar-nense, together with his own comment.—

* It is now called Standrop: and was once a market-town. See Camden, p. 939.

Q

After

* *After that Aldanus, and his wandring mates had reposed the reliques of their great patron, St. Cuthbert, and builded somewhat at Durham; then begged they hard, not for cantels of chese, as other poore men doe; but for large corners of good countries, as al their prsseffion used: and obteyned of King Canute (whom they perswaded to go five myles of his way barefooted to see St. Cuthbert) the manor of Standrop, with all the apendances thearto.— This Standrop is a market town, and had a Colledge valued at 126 poundes by year. Leland speaks to the same purpose. † Canutus Rex dedit St. Cuthberto Stanthorpe et Raby cum alijs terris. We find the same mentioned by Simeon of Durham: Mansionem Standrope cum omnibus suis appendicijs libere in perpetuum possidendum (dedit Rex ‡ Canutus.)*

From these particular and pointed references I am led to think, that the poems concerning the Battle of Hastings originated in the north. They were new modelled by Rowley; and he may for the honour of his country have introduced the Bristowans, whom he opposes for bravery to the Kenters: and he may possibly have inserted those lines about the Hygra and Severn, with other little his-

* Lambard, p. 324.

† Itin. vol. viii. pars. 2. p. 10.

‡ De Eccles. Dunelmensi. p. 33.

tories,

tories, which correspond well with his situation. But still I think it is plain, that he had an original poem from whence he copied : and he points out the poet by acknowledging his obligations.

* Oh Turgotte, wherefoeer thie spryte dothe haunte,
 Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie syde,
 Where thou mayste heare the fwotie nyghte larke
 chaunte,
 Orre wyth some mokyng brooklette swetelie glide.

* * * * *
 Whereer thou art, come and my mynde enleme,
 Wyth such greete thoughtes as dyd wyth thee a-
 byde,
 Thou sonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
 Send me agayn a drybblette of thie lyghte,
 That I the deeds of Englyshmenne maie wryte.

From these authorities, as well as from some particulars in the language of the poem; I am led to think, that it was of Saxon original. And I am of the same opinion about the plays of Godwin and Ælla. Great changes may have been since brought about in respect to the diction; and a new colouring in many places have been added: yet there still remain strong marks of their great antiquity. In short, I am persuaded, that Rowley made a large collection of obsolete writings, both in prose and verse; which he committed to that repository, from whence these poems were taken. They seem to have been of dif-

* P. 267. v. 591.

ferent ages, as well as of different parts of the kingdom ; from the Conquest downward to his own time. And if we may judge from those, which remain, they must have been a most valuable collection : all which were once in the hands of Chatterton. He would have faithfully produced them to the world. But his veracity being questioned, and his pride repeatedly hurt, it produced in him an unconquerable resentment : and there is reason to think, that he consigned the greater part of them to the flames. Thus have we by some very justifiable, but unfortunate, scruples been deprived of an inestimable treasure.

MATRAVAL and POWYS LAND;
also HOWEL AP JEVAH.

Mention is made of a person of consequence from Wales, who fought on the side of Harold in the battle of Hastings.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval. p. 218. v. 181.

He is in another place stiled *the noble Flower of Powys-land*, p. 231. v. 453. and he brought with him a friend, named Merwyn ap Teudor. It is to be observed, that Matraval was once a place of consequence, being the chief seat of the princes of Powys : and the country about

about it, which was upon the Severn in Montgomeryshire, was stiled Powys-Land. It is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 875: and called Powisia. It is also taken notice of by Camden, when he is speaking of the place above mentioned, Matraval, near Lhan Villin. *This Mathraval* (so he expresses it) *lies five miles to the west of the Severn: and (which in some degree asserts the antiquity of it) though it be now but a bare name, was once the royal seat of the princes of Powys: and is also noted in authors, who tell us, after these princes left it, Robert Vipont an Englishman built a castle there.—The princes of Powys, descended from the third son of Roderick the Great, possessed this country, with some others, till the time of Edward the Second. p. 781. and 783. Powel speaks to the same purpose, when he treats of Matraval or Powys: the sum of which is contained in a treatise, borrowed from Mr. Humfrey Lhoyd. The second kingdom was Mathraval.—To this belonged the countrie of Powys; and the land betwixt Wy and Seaverne: which part had upon the south and west South Wales.—This part called Powys was divided again into Powys Vadoc and Powys Wenwynwyn. p. 11.*

The name of Howel ap Jevah seems to have been sometimes expressed ap Jevaf, and ap Jorveth. It occurs in Giraldus; but is by

him appropriated to a person, who lived in the time of King Henry the Second.—Hoe-lus, Filius Jorveth de urbe Legionum. p. 876.

The name is however to be found in earlier times : for when the Great Howel Dha, Lord of Powys, and King of all Wales, died, he was succeeded in part of his dominions by his relation Jevaf. *After the death of Howel Dha, his sonnes did divide South Wales and Powys between them : and Jevaf and Jago, the second and third sonnes of Edval Voel, ruled North Wales.—In those daies Jago and Jevaf by force and strength ruled all Wales as they thought good.* Powell's Hist. of Wales, p. 59, 60. The son of this Jevaf was named Howel ap Jevaf ; and reigned after him about the year 980. Of the same family was the Howel ap Jevah, *Lord of Powys Land*, mentioned in the poem : as is apparent from that circumstance, from his being a lord of the same district.

It may be asked, how it could possibly come to pass, that a prince of this country, with his companions, should be found in Harold's army, fighting for the Saxons, against whom they had a national antipathy. We are told indeed, that Howel had killed a man ; and had therefore retired. But this would not necessarily make him engage in fight ; nor be so zealous in the Saxon cause.

We

We find, that he was summoned by Harold ;
that he came at his call ; and was captain of
his body-guard.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval,
Where he by chance had killed a noble's son :
And now was come to fight at Harrold's call,
And now in battle he much good han done,
Unto King Harold he foughte mickle near,
For he was yeoman of the bodie guard ;
And with a targyt, and a fighting spear,
He of his boddie han kepte watch and ward.

p. 218. v. 181.

This connexion may seem unnatural ; but
the reason of it was this. From the death
of Howel Dha there had been continual ani-
mosities between the people of North and
South Wales ; and many cruel battles had
been fought. At last Gruffyth ap Lewelyn,
in the time of Edward the Confessor, got
possession of the whole kingdom : and, be-
ing elated with his good fortune, he made
many inroads into Herefordshire, and the
neighbouring * counties. Upon this the
King of England sent Harold the son of
Goodwin, who with a fleet of ships sailed
from Bristol ; and coasted the western part
of † Wales. And, being joined by his bro-
ther Tostie with a force by land, he worsted

* Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 93, 4. See Matthew
of Westminster, p. 427. Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 185.
Florence of Worcester, p. 632.

† Powel, p. 100.

the Welch in several encounters, and distressed them greatly. * Some time after he got together a large power, and entered into South Wales; where he so alarmed the natives, that they sent him the head of their King Griffyth, and swore fealty both to King Edward, and to him. † Cui Edwardo et Heraldō Comiti fidelitatem illi juraverunt; et ad imperium illorum mari terrâque se fore paratos. We therefore need not wonder at finding a nobleman of Wales attending upon a Saxon King: Howel ap Jevah, mentioned in the poem, must have been a descendant of Howel Dha, by being a Lord of Powys-Land; and also from his name; by which a former king of that family had been called. The ‡ persons substituted by Harold as governors in North Wales, after the death of Griffyth, were descendants of Howel Dha; so that Howel ap Jevah must have been their relation, and in the same interest. And what that interest was may be seen in || Giraldus Cambrensis, where these persons are spoken of. Hi non Principes, sed Domini, in suâ quisque

* Powel. p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelmens. de Gestis, &c. p. 192.

‡ Meredyth the son of Owen, by some said to have been the son of Howel Dha, succeeded to the government in South Wales; and Blethyn and Rywallon, the sons of Conwyn in North, all three in alliance with Harold, and appointed by him. See Powel's Hist. p. 102.

|| Girald. Cambrensis, p. 877. notes.

regione,

regione, dicti: sunt et Regum Angliæ adversus Cambriæ Principes fere semper secuti sunt partes. If they would join with the Saxons against their own country; we may imagine, that they would not scruple to engage against foreigners. Hence it is, that we find two Welch chiefs in the army of Harold.

O S W A L D.

The poet speaking of Kenewalcha, the Lady of Adhelm, a noble Saxon, dwells long upon her beauty, and accomplishments: and describes her person and appearance in some very fine lines.

Majestic, as the grove of oaks, that stood
Before the abbie, buylt by Ofwald King.

Second Batt. Hastings, p. 259. v. 431.

The person of whose abby the poet makes mention, is the same, who for his piety was stiled St. Oswald; and who built the monastery of Lindisfarne. He succeeded Osric in the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, which were united under * him. They comprehended what was afterwards called the kingdom of Northumberland: which consisted of all the provinces north of the Humber.

* Chron. John Bromton, p. 785. Gervas. Durober-
nensis, p. 1635. Henry Huntingdon. L. 3. p. 330, 1.

He

He was a zealous propagator of Christianity in these counties ; where it had been in a manner extinguished. This was effected by the help of Aidan, a monk of Scotland ; whom he had invited to his assistance : and by this man and his associates the gospel was preached again. In consequence of this in a little time the king is said to have restored Christianity throughout his kingdom : and accordingly must have built many places of worship. Among others was that above mentioned, which consisted of a monastery and church in the island Lindisfarne, of which Aidan was made * bishop about the year 685. Concerning the fate of this place, we have the following account in Lambarde. After having mentioned the building and establishing of the church under Aidan, he tells us, that it was in a state of improvement to the time of Bede : but—*within fifty yeares after the Danes landed in this ile ; spoiled and pulled downe the churche, and put to the sworde man, woman, and childe. Notwithstandinge the Byshops Sea remayned, and after a while suche monkes as escaped, assembled to the place againe.*

* Concerning these histories, see Bede, Hist. Eccles. L. 3. c. v. p. 170. Malmſbury de Pontif. L. 3. p. 275. Henry of Huntingd. L. 3. p. 330. Serenus Cressly, L. 15. p. 349. Matth. Westminst. p. 115. See especially Simeon Dunelmensis : de Dunelmensi Eccles. C. 1, 2, 3.

But er they had rested other fifty yeares, they hearde that Inguar, Hubba, Halfdene, and sundry other Capitaines of the Danes, with an infinite number of souldiours, weare landed in the realme. Hereupon Eardulf then Bysshop toke up the bodies of Aidane, Cuthbert, and the reliques of sundry other religious and noblemen, and wandered about a new habitation in suche wise as in Durham is before declared. (see p. 84.) Thus the Holy Ile, which was the mother of all the religiouse places in that part of the realme, became a handmayde to Durham, which was nothing but a rude grove. For after the Sea settled at Durham, it was made a cell of that riche monasterye, beinge it selfe in yearly valew not above 49 poundes, p. 145.

Though the monastery of Lindisfarne is the only one specified to have been built by Oswald: yet, as he invited monks from all parts of Britain; and they came in great numbers upon his invitation; he must necessarily have provided religious houses for their reception. And as all places of this nature upon his coming to his kingdom were in an absolute state of * ruin; it is natural to suppose, that many of them were rebuilt by him. In the beginning of his reign he

* Concerning monasteries in these parts, see Harpsfield—*Septimum Sæculum. De Cænobijs Northumbriæ*—p. 105, 6, 7, 8, 9.

gained

gained a great victory over Cadwalla and Penda, at a place called afterwards Heaven-field, near Hagustadesham in Northumberland. It is said to have been obtained by a miracle : and the field was denominated Heavenfield from the event. Bede takes notice of it ; and says, that in after times the brethren of the church at * Hagustadesham or Hexam, by which I understand the monks of the place, had a custom of going yearly to Heaven-field, and praying for the soul of Oswald. From hence we find that there was a church erected in this place : and Richard Prior of Hexam tells us, that it was dedicated to St. Andrew ; and built forty years after that of Lindisfarne. c. 1. p. 290. There was also a monastery, according to Lambarde, which was dedicated to Saint Peter ; and he farther adds, that Hexam was once a bishop's see. p. 143.

I have dwelt upon these circumstances at large : because, though Oswald did found a monastery at Lindisfarne, the same as Holy Island, yet as it was a place of small extent, and surrounded by the sea, I cannot well suppose, that the stately oaks, mentioned by the poet, grew there. I imagine, that some other monastery is alluded to : and possibly that of Hexam. If the trees spoken of were

* L. 3. C. 2. p. 163, 4.

natives

natives of this spot, we may conclude, that they were demolished by the Danes in the general devastation, which they brought upon the northern provinces. Among other places, Lindisfarne, Weremouth, Babbenburgh, and Hexam, are known to have repeatedly suffered.

If the words of the poet instead of *an abbie, built BY Oswald King*, had been, *an abbie, built TO Oswald King*, the circumstances might have been more easily illustrated by history. For there were many monasteries and churches erected to his memory, and denominated from him. Such a one was situated in Gloucestershire, and we have this short account given of it by Leland. *The priory of Saint Oswald stood north north west from Gloucester abbey upon the Severne ripe. Etheldredus, Earl of Marches, and Ethelfleda, his noble wife, daughter to Edward the First, before the Conquest, founded originally this house; instituting Prebendaries in it: and thither translated from Bardney the body of St. Oswald, King of Northumberland.* Itin. vol. iv. part 2. p. 78. The like is to be found in the Chronicle of John * Bromton. But as most of
the

* Hoc anno (906) Dux Merciarum, Ethelredus, & uxor sua Elfleda, ossa Sancti Oswaldi Regis, et Martyris, ex Bardenay monasterio Lindeseyæ, usque
ad

the references in the Battle of Hastings seem to be taken from the north, I should imagine, that if the abby were built *to* King Oswald, it was that at Nosthill upon the Went, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It may possibly have been originally built by him; for it was of great antiquity; and I believe, that the name of the first founder does not any where * occur. Thus much we know, that it was repaired by King Henry the Second; and denominated from the above King of * Northumberland. In the grant of King Henry it is spoken of under the title of † Prioratus S^{ti} Oswaldi de Nostel — juxta Castellum Pontefracti — cum Ecclesiâ S^{ti} Oswaldi in Agro Eboracensi—&c. It is mentioned in the same manner again—Ecclesiam Beati Oswaldi Regis et Martyris in loco, qui dicitur Nostlâ, &c. And among the donations specified, we find this particular one—et totum NEMUS, quod circa eandem Ecclesiam est. † Ex Chartâ Donationis Henrici Canonicis Sancti Oswaldi. A second donation is specified, where another wood, or part of the same, is given by Aulinus de Dacio.—Canonicis S^{ti} Oswaldi — nemus et ferram,

ad urbem Gloverniæ transfulerunt; ubi in ejusdem Sancti honorem monasterium condiderunt. Chron. Johan. Bromton. p. 833. l. 39.

* See Camden, Britan. vol. ii. p. 851.

† Dugdale's Monast. vol. ii. p. 34. a.

ficut

sicut jacet ex occidentali parte Ecclesiæ et Stagni S^ti Oswaldi. Again — * totum NEMUS, quod circa eam Ecclesiam est, et quod dicitur NEMUS S^ti † OSWALDI.

This pious prince, after a reign of nine years, was, anno 642, slain in battle by Penda, King of Mercia, at Marsfield near Oswestre in Shropshire. See Bede. L. 3. p. 185. also Chron. Saxon. p. 31. Lambard. Histor. Dict. p. 254. 262.

* Dugdale's Monast. vol. ii. p. 36. a.

† It is to be observed, that the monasteries of which I have made mention, are stiled priories: whereas the convent spoken of by the poet was an abby. But this does not amount to much. For many monasteries mentioned as abbies in one age, are in another stiled priories: and the Principal, or Abbot, is afterward spoken of as the Prior. Prior pro Abbate crebro occurrit in regulâ S. Benedicti. Du Cange. The Prior of Bath is called an Abbot. Chron. Sax. p. 192. l. 13. Prior of Ely called Abbot. ibid. p. 118. l. 9. Aldwin is stiled Prior of Winchelcomb, which was an abby. Simeon Dunelmens. L. 3. c. 20. p. 43. Osney Priory, founded by Robert D'Oiley, by the advice of his wife Edith, for Black Canons, is called an abby. Dugdale Monast. vol. ii. p. 136. See also the account of the Abbot and Priory of Notlely, and of Cherwode. ibid. p. 340. b. Ela Nobilis Comitissa de Sarum made Abbess of the Priory of Lacock anno 1326. Dugdale Monast. vol. ii. p. 341.

HIBERNIES WOOD.

Majestic as Hibernies Holie Wood,
Where faintes and foules departed masses
fynges. p. 259. v. 433.

We have here another reference to an ancient grove: the scite of which, I believe, may be more easily determined than the former. I once imagined, that it might have been in the province of Kildare: as this seems of old to have been the residence of some of the Druids: and there was probably in the times of paganism a temple, in which the priests preserved a perpetual fire. For when a monastery was erected upon its ruins, the same rite was maintained: and the nuns of St. Bridget took it by turns, day and night, to attend, that this fire might never be * extinguished. Besides as Dare and Darch are said in the Irish language to signify an † oak, I imagined, that the name of Kildare might have a reference to that object. But notwithstanding these appearances, I am persuaded, that the place alluded to was in a different part of the country; and more

* Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 729.

† Dearc-abhal, an oak-apple, see the Irish Diction. of Obrien. An Oak, Darach, Darag. Galic Diction. of the Revd. Mr. Shaw.

easily to be ascertained. The sacred wood of Hibernia, was undoubtedly that at Dear-march; where St. Colomb is said, before he passed over to Britain, to have founded a celebrated monastery; which seems to have been the most famous of any in Ireland. We have a short, but curious account of it afforded us by Bede. *Fecerat autem (Columba) priusquam Britanniam veniret, Monasterium nobile in Hiberniâ; quod a copiâ ROBORUM DEARMACH, linguâ Scotorum, hoc est Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque Monasterio perplurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britanniâ, et in Hiberniâ, propagata sunt. L. 3. c. iv.* By the Scoti the author means the Irish people of Ireland: among whom Dear and Dearch signified an *Oak*. At this day an oak-apple is Dearc-abhall; as may be seen in the Irish Dictionary of O'Brien. Bede in the passage above makes use of the words *ex quo utroque monasterio*, because he had before mentioned another religious house founded by the same person. One was, as I have shewn, at Dearmach in Ireland: the other in the province of Bernicia, called *Candida Casa*, on account of the white stones, of which it was constructed.

Some have imagined, that the Irish monastery, alluded to above, was situated at Der-

R

rough

rough in Leinster : but Adamannus and from him * Mr. O'Halloran, insist, that it was in Ulster, where was the Dear-mach before mentioned. They moreover say, that the region was called Daire-Collum-Chille : by which is denoted a place situated near the Oak grove of Columba. All this is analogous to the Dear-mach of Bede : which is a compound of Deare, or Dearch, an *Oak* ; and mach a *plain*.

We may from hence correct a mistake in Henry of Huntingdon ; who mentions, that this monastery was at Armach, consequently in a different part of Ireland. At least so it appears, as the text now stands. † *Erat autem et aliud monasterium nobile in Hiberniâ de Armach, id est CAMPUS ROBORUM.* But this is manifestly an error of some transcriber ; who has substituted the terms *de Armach* for *Dear-mach*, the name mentioned above by Bede : whom the historian certainly copied.

From these data I think we may perceive the true place, to which the poet alludes, when he speaks of the Holy Wood of Hibernia. He adds—

Where saintes & souls departed masses syng.

* See the Hist. of Ireland by Mr. O'Halloran, vol. ii. p. 79.

† L. 3. p. 330.

The awfulness of groves and forests made people in the times of paganism imagine, that they were frequented by deities : and that strange cries and voices often proceeded from them. Virgil takes notice of this notion.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentes
Ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
Visa sub obscurum noctis. Georg. L. I. v. 476.

Livy also makes mention of the God Aius Locutius, to whom altars were raised on account of a mighty voice, supposed to have been heard out of the wood Arfia. After Christianity took place, the same notions in many parts still prevailed : and these recesses were attended with a religious horror. That this in some degree obtained in Ireland, we may infer from the testimony of our poet above : and it also appears from the history of Saint Patrick, of whose coming the Druids foretold : and infant voices were said to have been heard in the woods of Fochlaidh, invoking him to come among them.

Salutaris erat Hiberniæ
Adventus Patricij ad Fochlaidios.
Audiebat longe vocem invocantium
Infantum de sylvis Fochlaidh.

It is part of an hymn supposed to have been composed in the year 434, by Fieco an Irish * Bishop, in honour of the Saint above.

* Translated by Colonel Vallancey. See his Irish Grammar, p. 167.

GOODRICK'S ABBY.

The poet having compared the majestic appearance of the Lady Kenewalchae to an ancient and awful grove of trees, proceeds to describe the beauty of her shape by a comparison of the same nature, taken from that symmetry and regularity, which elms of a fine growth are known to exhibit. Nor must references of this sort be deemed unnatural. * Theocritus, having likened Helen to a mare, and to a furrow in a ploughed field, enlivens his similitudes by comparing her to a cypress. Our English poet specifies the situation of the trees, which he mentions, by saying, that they were at the abby of Goodrick. His words are as follow.

† Tapre as candles layd at Cuthberts shryne;
Tapre as elmes, that Goodrickes abbie shrove.

Of the attachment, which Turgott had to Saint Cuthbert, I have already taken notice: on which account we need not wonder at the repeated allusions to the worship and sanctity of this person. He was Prior of Durham, where Cuthbert was enshrined, and esteemed the patron saint. From a writer so circumstanced as Turgott appears to have been, these

* Idyl. 18. v. 29. † Battle of Hastings, p. 259. v. 441.
references.

references are very natural and proper ; which would be unaccountable in another person of a different situation. The abby, which is afterwards mentioned, and was so distinguished for its grove of trees, may have been that of Croyland ; as the region around it abounded with woods. To this monastery one Goodrick belonged, when Inguar, Hubba, and Halfdean, made their inroads into the eastern provinces of the * kingdom. Among other places Croyland suffered most, being reduced by their barbarity to a state of ruin. This happened about the year 870, in the reign of Ethelred, the brother of Alfred. After this misfortune, some of the monks, who had escaped in the neighbouring woods, returned : and having rendered the place in some degree habitable, they chose Goodrick Abbot. † *Erudrato ergo monasterio toto cum longo, maximoque labore, et de cineribus, ac alijs immundissimis fordibus, juxta possibilitatem temporis expurgato, de pastore inter eos eligendo invicem colloquuntur : celebratâque electione, venerabilis pater GODRICUS omnium consensu, licet invitatus, et multum renitens, abbas tandem est effectus.* This may possibly be the abby spoken of ; and distinguished by the title of Goodrick's

* Ingulphus, p. 866.

† Ibid. p. 867.

Abby: and I have accordingly laid this account before the reader, that he may determine. I must own, I sometimes have been inclined to believe that it was the abbey of Winchelcomb in Gloucestershire. It was erected anno 796 by Kenelm King of Mercia; and seems to have been of great extent; as there originally belonged to it no less than three hundred monks. It suffered by the Danes equally with that above, but was restored in the time of King Edgar, by Oswald, Bishop of Winchester. One of the abbots of this monastery was named *Goodrick*, who lived in the time of Turgott; and had been appointed by Bishop * Aldred in the year 1054. It is very probable that Turgott was acquainted with this person; and he might otherwise have a regard for the place: for his beloved friend, and patron, Aldwin, belonged to this monastery, before he came into the north; and there is room to suppose, that he had been a monk under Goodrick. We have the following account of Aldwin's coming to Durham from the writer before quoted. † Qualiter Aldwinus de Wincen-

* See Simeon Dunelmensis de Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 187. Mortuo Godwino Wincelcumbensi Abbate, Aldredus Wigornensis Episcopus — Godricum Godmanni, Regis Capellani filium, loco ejus Abbatem constituit.

† P. 43.

cumb cum duobus fratribus de Eovesham in Northanhymbriam advenerit: et quomodo ab Episcopo Walchero suscepti sint, et fructificaverint. His temporibus quidam in provinciâ Merciorum Presbiter, ac Prior, in Monasterio, quod in Wincelcumb situm est, habitu et actione monachus, vocabulo Aldwin, habitabat: qui voluntariam paupertatem et mundi contemptum cunctis seculi honoribus prætulera. Hic didicerat ex historiâ Anglorum, quod provincia Northanymbrorum crebris quondam choris Monachorum, ac multis constipata fuit agminibus Sanctorum, &c.: quorum loca, videlicet monasteria, licet jam in solitudinem sciret redacta, desideravit visere: ibique in ad imitationem illorum pauperem vitam ducere. Pervenienti ergo ad Eoveshamense monasterium, desiderium suum quibusdam fratribus patefecit: e quibus duos mox in sui propositi societatem sibi * adjunxit. In this manner Aldwin with his two companions came to the province of Durham: and settled first at Gyrva, or Iharrow. After a

* The same history is given by John Bromton. He says that the associates of Aldwin were from Lincoln: and adds *Horum nomina fuerunt Aldwinus, Alfwinus, et Reynefridus. Ex his tribus tria sunt in regione Northanymbrorum Monasteria instaurata. p. 973.* Evesham was in Worcestershire, in the way of Aldwin to Durham: and this was undoubtedly the place, from whence he had his associates; and not from Lincoln.

while he was invited by the Bishop to come to Durham itself: which summons he accordingly obeyed, and was graciously received. In this journey he was accompanied by Turgott; who seems to have first known him at Iharrow; and to have kept up his regard for him ever after. * At Aldwinus de Gyrvensi monasterio egrediens, comitem itineris et propositi, in CLERICALI adhuc habitu, habuit Turgotum; amore tamen et actu vitam MONACHORUM † imitantem.

From the account above given, it is possible that the place called the Abby of Goodrick may have been that of Winchelcomb; of which this Goodrick was Abbot; and to which Aldwin had once belonged: and the trees alluded to must have been a grove before that monastery. I have mentioned, that Winchelcomb was originally very ample and splendid: but in the time of King Edgar it was in a state of ruin, having suffered greatly by the ravages of the Danes. It was afterwards in some degree restored by ‡ Oswald Bishop of Worcester. The poet seems to speak of the trees, with which the monastery was

* Simeon Dunelm. p. 45.

† He was afterwards shorn, and received the monastic habit at Weremouth.

‡ See William of Malmesbury, de gestis Pontif. L. 4. p. 283.

sheltered,

sheltered, as *having* existed. By which we may suppose, if this be the place alluded to, that they suffered in the general calamity, and were cut down by the Danes.

There is another monastery, which perhaps may be thought to have some faint pretensions. In these dark researches it is not in our power to speak with a thorough degree of certainty. All, that can be done, is to produce the best evidence afforded; and to leave the whole to the determination of the reader. The monastery to which I allude, was that of * Finkhale, or † Finchale, near Durham. It had its name from one Goodrick, an hermit; who chose it for a place of retirement, in the reign of Henry the First. He was esteemed in those days, a person of great sanctity: and his cell was held in uncommon repute. It became afterwards an appendage to the church of Saint Cuthbert; and was erected into a priory by Hugo de ‡ Puteaco; who made Thomas the sacrist of Durham Prior of it in the year 1196. The region hereabouts was thick covered with trees; and it was undoubtedly upon this account, that the hermit Goodrick chose it for his hiding-place. William of

* See Lambarde Topograph. Hist. p. 115.

† So expressed by Camden, p. 949.

‡ Called also Hugh de Pudsey. See Camden, p. 947.

Newbury speaks of it, and says — * *memoratus quidem locus sylvosus est: sed modicam habet planiciem.* As the monkish life was held in much esteem, Goodrick in consequence of it is spoken of with great † respect; and particularly by Matthew Paris. He styles him ‡ *Venerabilis Heremita Godericus*: and mentions the place of his residence. § *Sanctus Godericus apud Finchale vitam heremiticam inchoavit.* He adds, that he died, || *cum annos sexaginta in heremo apud Finchale peregisset.* The construction of this monastery was after the time of Turgott: so that this reference to the abby must have come from Rowley: if this be the place alluded to. He was a priest, and an antiquary: and as he tells us, that he was at Durham; he may possibly have visited a place so very ** near, and of such reputed sanctity, as Finchale. In consequence of this he may have introduced it in the poem.

* Guil. Neubrigens. L. 2. c. 20. p. 170.

† Idem, *ibid.*

‡ P. 117. l. 30.

§ P. 64. l. 55.

|| *Ibid.* p. 119, and 120.

** It is not above two miles from Durham upon the river Were.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS.

We may perceive from the evidences, which have been produced, how much these little histories illustrate the poem, though they may not always arise to a proof. Many of them apparently point the same way; and have a manifest reference both to persons and occurrences in the northern provinces of the kingdom: and by these means they seem to afford some indication of the hand, by which they were originally produced. They likewise favour much of the age, when monkery was at its height; and when it prevailed so far, as that a regular priest was scarcely held in any estimation. I have taken notice of one Adhelm, a noble Saxon; who is represented as a particular friend of Turgott. His history, short as it may appear, will afford a farther confirmation of what I have been saying.

Oh, Turgotte, wherefoeer thie spryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie syde, &c.

p. 267. v. 591.

The person upon inquiry seems to have been a Northumbrian, and probably of a noble race: the third king of that country was of the same name: as was also the father of Ida; and other persons of consequence. This
appears

appears from the Saxon Chronicle, p. 53. and may be likewise seen in Simeon Dunelmensis, L. i. c. 13. p. 7. and other writers. He is represented as much devoted to the worship of Saint Cuthbert; as his fire had been before him. This fire is highly spoken of by the poet: and yet his chief merit seems to have arisen from his having bestowed all his fortune upon the church of Durham, and the saint above; and left his son to the wide world for subsistence.

Adhelm, a knyghte, whose holie deathless fire
For ever bended at St. Cuthbert's shryne;
Whose breast for ever burn'd with sacred fyre,
And een on erthe he myghte be calld dyvine;
To Cuthbert's churche he dyd his goodes resygne,
And lefte hys son hys Gods and fortunes knyghte, &c.
p. 256. v. 391.

He is said to have had for his wife Kenewalchae, the daughter of Adered; a lady of whom we have spoken before; and whose excellence the poet celebrates very highly.

He married was to Kenewalchae fair.

Indeed he expends more time in speaking of her appearance and beauty, than is well decent for a disciple of Cuthbert; and one devoted to celibacy and a cloyster. But there may have been a reason for this panegyric, though not at this distance of time to be discovered. The name Adered was expressed
by

by different writers Edered, Edred, Ederedus : and there was a Bishop of * Durham so called, as well as some other persons of note. Kenewalch also, from whence the feminine Kenewalchae came, was the name of a † West Saxon king.

E L M S.

As the author mentions the Elms, which grew before the abby of Saint Goodrick, some may possibly make an objection to this ; and insist, that no trees of this species were in England at the time alluded to. For I am sensible, that it is a common notion, that Elms are not indigenous ; but have been introduced at *no* great distance of time. But the opinion seems to me to be by no means well founded : and I think, it may be proved from references made to those trees in history ; and from various places of antiquity, which have been denominated from them. Such are Elmham, Elmsley, Elmhurst, Elmet, Elmin, Elmeden : to which others might be added of nearly the same purport. Hollinshed wrote above two hundred years ago ; and speaking of the various products of

* See Simeon Dunelm. p. 34, and p. 181.

† Matth. Westminst. anno 6:8. p. 120. Will. Malmesb. c. 2. p. 13.

the island, he takes notice of Elms: and seems to mention them, as natives of the country. Descript. of Brit. vol. i. p. 213. Turner also, who published his Herbal in the reign of Edward the Sixth, speaks of these trees, and describes them: but gives no intimation, that they were imported, p. 169. Plot takes notice of two Elms, which were mentioned to have been in two places in Oxford, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and of his son Edward the Sixth. One of which is particularly spoken of as an old tree in those times. L. 6. p. 169. Hist. of Oxfordshire. If we allow a century for the growth of such an Elm, we must date it from 1440, or 1450.

In respect to places denominated from these trees, those stiled Elmley, and Elmsley, are of the same analogy, as those called Oakley, Ashley, Apsley, Boxley, Berkley. By *ley* is signified a land, ground, or place in general. And as *Oakley* denotes a place of oaks; *Ashley*, a place of *ash-trees*; *Apsley* of *asps*, &c: so *Elmley* and *Elmsley* relate to places, where *elms* grew. Elmham in Norfolk was in the times of the Saxons a Bishop's See; which was afterwards translated to Thetford. This place is said to have been denominated from *Elms*. It is on this ac-

count by Bishop Bale stiled *Ulmetum*. He is speaking of two bishopricks being founded at Elmham and Dunwich, and expresses himself in the following manner.—* At historia Icenensis Ecclesiæ, in divisione Episcopatus Orientalium Anglorum, Bedwinum Episcopum Dunwico, urbi antiquissimæ, &c.—designat: Eccam vero Ulmeto, pago alioqui ignobili. There seems to have been an Elmlah in Worcestershire, as we find from a Mss. quoted by Hearne. † Carta Dimissionis—quâ concedit Lyfingus, in Wigornia civitate Episcopus, &c.—suo fideli homini Ægelric 2 manfas in loco, quem illius terræ solicolæ Elmlah vocitant. Elmley castle, which stood upon the Bredon hills in Worcestershire, is supposed to have received its name upon the same account.

There was a place of great antiquity called Elmsley in the North Riding of Yorkshire; which, as Camden intimates, was so named from a wood. It stood in a particular dale, mentioned by William of Newbury, as a place of solitude and horror. ‡ Camden imagines, that this was the *Ulmetum* of Bede. In another place || he speaks of *Elmet*; which

* Balæus de Script. Britan. Cent. Dec. p. 29.

† Hemingi Chartulæ Eccles. Wigorn. v. ii. p. 599.

‡ Camden. Brit. p. 912.

|| Ibid. p. 862.

seems

seems to have been a district in the West Riding of the same province. || *The country for some little way about Winwinfield was anciently called Elmet, i. e. the grove of Elms, which Edwin King of Northumberland, the son of Ella, brought under his dominion. Bede says, that out of the fire, which burnt the royal villa Donafeld, one altar was saved, being of stone, and was kept in the wood Elmet.* It is to be observed, that Bede takes notice of two places in this part of the world; one of which he styles * *Elmin*, and the other *Elmet*. *Elmin* was in the province of Bernicia, where a royal palace was erected in the room of one, which had been destroyed; and where Paulinus first preached the gospel.—† 7 oðer pær forþon ȝetimbred on hæpe ȝtope, ðe man Elmen hatt. *Elmet*, called Sylva *Elmete*, was a different place from this, and stood in another province. I take this latter to have been the forest, stiled *Ulmetum* by the Romans: though they are both named from the same object, the species of trees, concerning which we have been treating. *Elmet* was part of the region, which surrounds Leeds in the West Riding

|| Camden. Brit. p. 862.

* *Elmin* in some copies was expressed *Melmin*: but Lambarde observes, that it was an error. p. 104.

† Bede. L. 2, c. 14.

of

of Yorkshire: and according to that curious antiquary Thoresby, was once of great extent. The limits of it, he owns, could never be truly determined. * *To confess, says he, the truth, all my endeavours and enquiries are fruitless in respect to the boundaries thereof: places at a considerable distance being so denominated. I shall therefore confine myself to four places; viz. Berwick in Elmet, Ledsham, Ledston, and Sherburn in Elmet, which seem to have had a peculiar relation hereunto. This tract received its name from the great woods of Elm, that then, and many ages after, abounded here: where doubtless was Bede's Sylva Elmetæ. And that so great a tract should be denominated from trees, will be no surprize to such, as have observed, that even whole counties have been so: as Berkshire. † Ita vocatur a Berroc, sylva ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur: and Buckingham, Fagorum Villa, from beech-trees, then called buccan. The Elm was in so high reputation among the ancients, that it was sometimes carried in the most solemn ‡ triumph.*

We are informed by that venerable antiquary § Lambarde, that West Smithfield at London was once called the *Elmes*: at least he thinks, that it is the place, which occurs

* Topog. of Leeds, p. 232.

† Bp. Gibson's Reg. gen. nom. Locorum.

‡ Bp. Usher's Annals, p. 608. quoted by Thoresby.

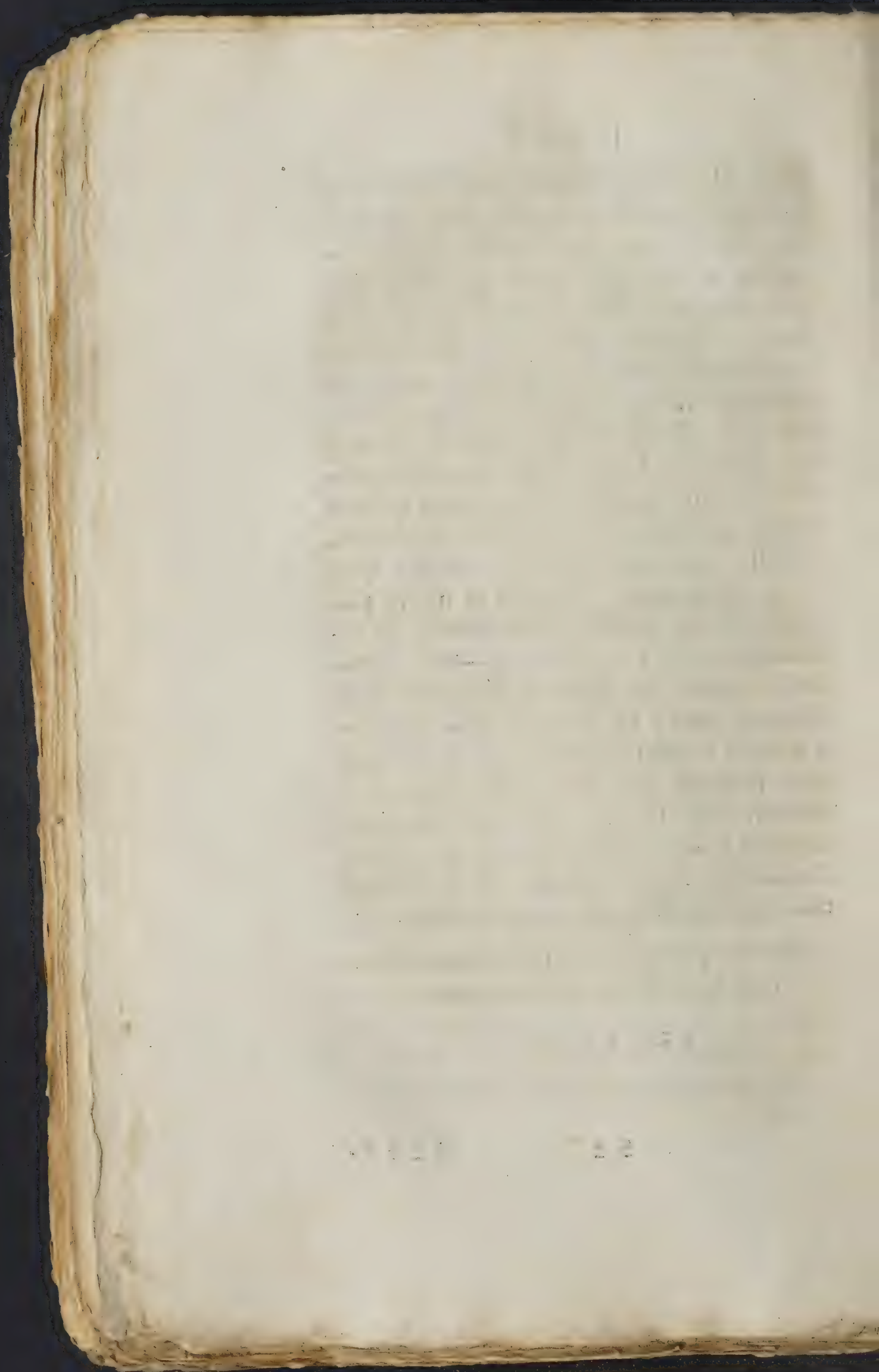
§ P. 173.

so denominated in Matthew Paris. It is of no great consequence in respect to the present subject, whether this was the identical spot so called. It is sufficient to my purpose, to shew from such authority, that there was a piece of ground close to the city, which had been named from *Elms*. But nothing can prove more satisfactorily, that there were elms in ancient times, than the Saxons having a name for them; by which they are specified in their writings. They expressed this tree *Elm-ȝreop*; and sometimes *Elm*; the very term, of which we make use at this day. Evelyn mentions in his *Sylva*, that he had once doubted, whether *Elms* were indigenous. But we are told in a note, that they were assuredly natives: and of this, it is said, we may be certain from there being near forty names of places in this kingdom, which are denominated from this species of tree. Most of these names are to be found in *Doomsday Book*. One of the most remarkable places of this sort was *Durham*, called *Dun-elm*: whence came the Latin *Dunelmum* and *Dunelmensis*. *Dun-elm* signifies *the Hill of Elms*: with which species of trees the place seems to have been so occupied, when they came thither to found the first church, that it was not habitable: so that the people, who first purposed to settle there

there, when they removed from Lindisfarn, had much trouble in clearing away the timber : for the place was totally covered, excepting in one small opening. That they were principally *Elms*, I infer from the name above. Simeon, who was denominated Dunelmensis from this very place, gives the following account of the transaction. * Qualiter locus ille habitabilis factus sit. Comitans sanctissimi Patris Cuthberti corpus universus populus in Dunelmum, locum quidem naturâ munitum, sed non facile habitabile, invenit ; quoniam densissima undique sylva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planities erat non grandis, quam arando, et feminando excolere consueverant—&c. Lambarde supposes the place to be named from *Dun* and *Holme* ; by the latter of which terms is denoted a wood in general : as if the name were properly *Dun-holm*. But Simeon, a far more ancient writer, who was of the place, expresses it always *Dun-elm*, and the church, *Dunelmensis*, from *Dun-elm*. It is likewise thus represented by the poet Johnstone.

Arte situque loci, munita *Dunelmia*, salve,
Quâ floret sanctæ relligionis apex.

* L. 3. c. 2. p. 28.



REFERENCES
TO
ANCIENT HISTORY
EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.
PART SECOND.

A L I S T
O F S U B J E C T S.

B L U E Bruton	Temple Church
Minstrel's Song	History of Will. Ca-
Green Verte	nynge
Delievretie	Widdeville
Snette	Sir T. Gorges
Aborne	Sir Ch. Baldwin
Flemed	Robt. Consul
Lordynge	Rowley's Tower
Nedder	Gaunts
Bertin	Fitz Hardyng
Tinyan	Brithric
Dynefare	Feschampe
Nyghte Mares	Nigille
Shoon-pykes	Christmas Games
Paramentes	Fortunies
Wooden blue	Farther' Obs. on W.
Hoke-day	Canynge
Convent of Goodwin	

R E F E-

R E F E R E N C E S
T O
A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y.

T H E B L U E B R U T O N .

AS the blue Bruton, ryfinge from the
wave,
Like sea-gods seeme in most majestic
guise,
And rounde aboute the risynge waters lave,
And their longe hayre arounde their bo-
die flies,
Such majestic was in her porte displaid,
To be excelld bie none but Homers martial
maid. p. 257. v. 405.

These lines seem to have been retouched
by the transcriber: as I am inclined to think
from the mistakes in the former part, and the
modern cast of the latter. Instead of the blue
Bruton, it should be blue Brutons in the
plural, as is manifest from the context. It

is farther to be observed, that the same word occurs twice within too small an interval to be allowed. We read of a person *rising* from the wave; and in the next line but one we find *rising* waters. Add to this, that the martial maid of Homer is, I should think, too trite and modern to be admitted as genuine. We may however be assured from the nature of the mistakes, that there was an original, which has been in some degree transposed; and upon the model of which the last lines were formed. Perhaps, instead of *rising* waters in the third line, we should read *swising*: for to *swize* denotes the sound of waters either running; or otherwise put in motion. The author of *Pierce Plowman*, speaking of a bourn or rivulet, says

As I lay and leanid and lokid on the water,
I slombred into a sleping, it *swysed* so merye. p. 1.

The poet in the passage above, is speaking of the fair Kenewalcha: concerning whose excellence mention had been made before. He compares her noble appearance to that of the ancient Britons, when they took their pastime either in rivers, or in the sea. There is great beauty as well as propriety in this similitude, more perhaps than may at first appear: and the lines, as well as the conception, are very noble. It is to be observed, that the Britons of old wore their hair
very

very long : and at the same time painted their bodies with the juice of an herb, called glastum, and vitrum. This afforded a fine blue colour ; which by being admitted beneath the skin, could never be effaced. Cæsar speaks of their painting themselves ; as also of their long hair. * Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem : atque hoc horribiliori sunt in bello aspectu : capilloque sunt promisso — &c. The herb, of which they made use, is mentioned by Pliny, who styles it glastum. Simile plantageni glastum in Galliâ vocatur, quo Britannorum conjuges nurusque toto corpore oblitæ. L. 22. C. 1. He speaks as if the custom had been appropriated to the women, whereas it was equally common, with the men : who indeed are more frequently mentioned for this practice. They had not only † figures of animals delineated with much care ; but also circles, and lines in all directions. And as these were intended by way of ornament, they went in great measure ‡ naked, that they might exhibit them in all places. Indeed no people, who paint

* Comment. L. 5. Παντες δε προς τατοις οι Βριταννοι χρωνται γλασω. ουτον δ' εστι το γλασον κυανειαν χροian απεργαζομενον. Cæsar's Com. Vetus Versio Græca. L. 5. p. 116.

† Herodian. L. 3.

‡ Ibid.

their

their bodies, are ever closely, or uniformly, vested. As these blue marks, by being thus exposed, must have been liable to dust and soil; nothing could set them off to more advantage, than a person's plunging into the water, and then rising again above the surface. And this was a constant practice of the ancient Britons; who according to Dion * Cassius, were continually seen in groups bathing in lakes or rivers. The whole therefore of this fine comparison is perfectly consonant, in every minute article, to the history of the people spoken of. Kenewalcha, as a beauty, must be supposed to have had fine hair: and all persons of a delicate texture have, from the blueness of their veins, an azure tint communicated to their complexion. Hence nothing could be more just, than to compare a person of this appearance to a blue Briton, emerging from the water, where he had been bathing, with his long hair floating upon his shoulders. These references to ancient history are as just, as they are curious.

MINSTREL'S SONG.

The Minstrel's Song in the Tournament.

P. 31.

I come now to the explanation of some other ancient matters in different parts of

* L. 26. p. 1281.

theso

these poems. In the song above, the poet is describing the Norman King William, either the father, or son, going to hunt in some large forest: and makes mention of his knights following him in proper state. He manifestly writes with great dissatisfaction: and desires the king to pursue his game; to be contented with destroying the savage herds; and not to embrue his hands in the blood of men. He particularly warns him to abstain from brother's blood:

Forslagen atte thie feete lett wolwynns bee,
Lett thie flos drenche theyre blodde, bott do ne bre-
drenn flee.

The song seems to be far more ancient, than the poem in which it is introduced. I once imagined, that it alluded to the preparations made by William Rufus, against his brother Robert of Normandy; whose title to the crown of England had been revived about the year 1089; and was espoused by many of the most powerful barons. But the first line of the poem seems plainly to point out the conqueror: and all the circumstances must relate to him.

William the Normannes floure, botte Englonde's thorne.

The time, when the poet makes him set out upon his expedition, may have been the particular season, when his half-brother, the bishop of Bayeux, had deceived him; and

was flying out of the land. The king was greatly exasperated against him: nor was it known, how far he might carry his resentment. It is certain, that he never forgave him. The bishop had been guilty of cruel extortions; and was got to Portsmouth, in order to fly to Rome. William set out in good time to secure him; and accordingly seized him, just as he was leaving the coast.

But after all, the purport of the poem may be more general, than I have supposed. It may possibly relate to the English at large; who had very good reason to be stiled the *brethren* of the Normans, and particularly of the Conqueror; being in many respects allied to them. The king had founded his pretensions to the crown upon such relation. The propriety of the admonition about blood and cruelty is in either respect the same.

* Forslagen wyth thie floe lette wylde beastes bee,
Feste thee upponne their fleshe, doe ne thie Bre-
drenn flee.

This sort of request is repeatedly made: and I should think, that it related to the arbitrary proceedings of the conqueror; and to his acts of cruelty towards the people; who were irritated upon that account, and often shewed their resentment. It is to be observed, that towards the latter part of his reign, the king grew very suspicious and severe. There had

* P. 34. v. 83.

been

been some conspiracies against him : and in consequence of them he had alienated the lands of many persons ; and had proceeded to the lopping off of limbs, and putting out the eyes of those, whom he esteemed his enemies. Numbers likewise had been put to death. His fondness for hunting was carried to a great excess ; which he continually prosecuted in the forest of *Itene*, in Hampshire ; called afterwards the *New Forest*. The making of this forest was looked upon as an act of great injustice, and even sacrilege ; on account of the many parishes desolated ; and churches in consequence of it ruined. The English writers shew great severity upon this head ; and the words of Matthew Paris are very remarkable.—*Amabat enim feras Rex ferus, quasi pater ferarum.* p. 12. These circumstances seem to be covertly alluded to in the poem. The king, it is true, at his setting out, is represented as gallantly equipped for the chase : yet the writer shews great dissatisfaction and bitterness through the whole. It was natural for the English to dislike a foreign prince ; by whom they had been kept in such an abject state of dependance : and from whom they had experienced so many instances of cruelty. And though the poet describes him in truly royal state ; yet he makes him attended in his progress

grefs with every thing frightful and ominous. With this clue, I think, the song of the Minstrel may be easily understood. In the following lines, which are remarkably fine, the king is described as taking his way through a dark forest, in order to begin the chase.

Throwe the merke shade of twystende trees he rydes,
 The flemed owlett flapps her eve-speckte wynges;
 The lordynge toade ynn alle hys passies bides;
 The berten neders att hymm darte the stynges:
 Styll, styll he passies onn, hys stede astrodde,
 Ne hedes the daungerous waie, gyff leadynge untœ
 bloodde.

The conclusion is to the same purpose, and the poetry very fine.

Wyth murtherr tyred he sleynge hys bowe alyne;
 The stagge is ouchd wythe crownes of lillie flowers:
 Arounde theire heaulmes theie green verte doe entwyne
 Joyous & revelous in the green woode bowers.
 Forslagen wythe thie floe lette wyld beasts bee,
 Feeft thee upponne theire fleshe: doe ne thie Bre-
 drenne flee.

When I consider the severity, with which these lines are attended; and the bitterness, which is every where to be discovered; I am induced to believe, that the whole proceeded from some person, who thought himself and his friends particularly aggrieved. Now, though the whole nation suffered greatly from the tyranny of the Conqueror; yet the people of the north experienced more than others
 his

his hostile purposes, and resentment. On which account I am persuaded, that this satire originated in those parts; and that it was the composition of Turgott, the Prior of Durham. It is well known, that the king had been greatly exasperated against the people of this province: and his brother the Bishop of Bayeux, whom he sent to quiet some disturbances in these parts, laid waste most of the country, which lay north of the Humber. The province of Durham in particular was reduced to a wilderness: so that for the space of nine years, it lay in a manner desolated. *Odo Baiocensis Episcopus, qui tunc a Rege secendus fuerat, et multum cum eo Primates Regni, cum multâ armatorum manu Dunelmum venerunt; et dum mortem Episcopi (Walcheri) ulciscerentur, terram pere totam in solitudinem redegerunt: miseros indigenas, qui suâ confisi innocentia domi resederant, plerosque ut noxios aut decollari aut membrorum detruncatione præceperunt * debilitari.* The Northumbrians had confederated with the Danes, and incurred the Conqueror's displeasure greatly: so that at last he marched against them in person. † *Quod*

* Simeon Dunelm. L. 4. C. 24. p. 48.

† Idem: de Gest. Reg. Ang. p. 198, 9. See John Bromton: ad annum 1068. p. 966. *Dunelmensis Ecclesia facta est quasi spelunca latronum.*

ubi Regi Willielmo innotuit, exercitu mox congregato in Northynbriam efferato properavit animo, eamque per totam hiemem devastare, hominesque trucidare, et multa alia non cessabat agere. For sixty miles between York and Durham, they did not leave an house * standing. Upon this a † famine ensued, so that people are said to have died in heaps. They did not spare the churches: and at Durham the king is said to have violated the shrine of St. Cuthbert: and was only withheld by a miracle from offering the greatest indignities. The monks at last deserted the cathedral, and carried the body of their saint away; secreting it in different ‡ places. All these acts of cruelty and violence must have rendered the Conqueror abhorred by the people, who had suffered so severely from him: and as nothing could exceed their zeal for St. Cuthbert, the violation of his church and shrine must have necessarily been held in the greatest abomination. But indeed the slaughter of so many innocent persons must have made the Conqueror's name detestable to the people of Durham. Hence I am led to think, that

* Malmſbury, p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelm. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 451.

‡ Sim. Dunelm. p. 38. l. 43. John Bromton, p. 972. l. 43.

this poem was written from the heart by one, who had suffered from these acts of violence: and that the author of the composition was Turgott, the Prior of that place; who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's. He must at that time have been upon the spot; and consequently a witness to the desolation of his country: and to all the miseries, and indignities, which ensued. He must accordingly have felt for the church, to which he belonged; and for the people, who so grievously suffered. Hence arose that severity in the poem, and the particular admonition to the mighty hunter—

Forslagen wyth thie floe lette-wylde beastes bee,
 Feeſte thee upponne theire fleſche: doe ne thie Bred-
 renne flee.

The language is far more ancient, than that which prevailed in the time of Rowley: though perhaps modified by him.

GREEN VERTE.

It may not be improper to introduce a few remarks upon some of the terms in this poem; as they deserve our attention. I will begin with a part of the last stanza, as it was so lately under the eye of the reader. The poet here takes notice, that at the end of the

T chase,

chafe, the persons, who have been concerned in it, now enjoy a repast; and adorn their heads with a sort of garlands, which are composed of *green verte*.

Arounde theire heaulmes theie *green-verte* doe entwyne.

We have here two words, which seem to be nearly of the same purport. This has led me to imagine, that what is expressed *green-verte*, should be rendered *green worte*; or rather *gron worte*, the same as *ground worte*, from *gron* and *grun*, *solum*. But it may be said, that the scene of the poem is in a forest: and *verte* is a well known forest term of great antiquity, and occurs in all the forest laws, and charters. It was in Latin expressed *viride*; and is to be found in the charter of liberties granted 1215 by King John. * *Nullus Castellanus vel alius teneat placitum de forestâ, sive de viridi, sive de venatione: sed quilibet forestarius de feudo attachiet placita de forestâ, tam de viridi, tam de venatione.* Again in *Additamentis*. † *Inquiratur etiam, qui fecerint, vel facere consueverint, vastum vel destructionem de viridi, vel de venatione.* Upon this the author of the glossary affords us the following observations. *Per viride intelligunt leges forestæ nostrates, quicquid frondes fert, aut folia viridia, ubi pascantur,*

* Matt. Paris, p. 260. l. 57.

† P. 154.

aut ubi tegantur cervi damæque. This word viride was in English expressed verte: and became in common use with people in all forests and chases. It signified, we find, both the grass of the ground, and the leaves of trees and shrubs: in short, whatever served for browse and fodder, and for shelter to the deer. Those, who had the care of these things intrusted to them, were stiled *Verderers*: a name in use at this day; and very well known. The person above mentioned takes farther notice in the same glossary of the different sorts of *verte*. He first informs us, that the term is the same, as the French verd and the Latin viride: and among the different sorts of verdure he specifies *Over-vert*, *neather-vert*, and *green-hue*. As my notion about the antiquity of the poem is particular, it may be objected, that the forest laws are more recent, than the times, when I suppose the original to have been planned. It is very true: but the terms were many of them antecedent to those laws. Verte, however expressed, is a pure Saxon word, *pipr*, *berba*: and over-verte, neither-verte, and green-hue, are all of the same original: all true Saxon terms; and prior to the Norman laws. In short, the ancient term has been confounded with the more modern: for green-verte in the common acceptation is re-

dundant; each term being of the same signification. This makes me suspect, as I before intimated, that what is rendered green-verte, was in the original green-worte, or gron-worte, analogous to ground-wort: by which is signified the herbs and flowers of the field, with which the king and his company crowned themselves.

DELIEVRETIE.

Williamm, the Normannes flowre, botte
Englondes thorne,

The manne, whose myghte *delievretie* hadd
knite,

Snette oppe hys long strunge bowe, &
sheelde aborne. p. 31. v. 43.

Delievretie seems to have been an ancient term, from the verb *delivrer*, (*affranchir*) and signifies, activity, freedom, dexterity, and address. It occurs differently modified in several old authors. It is said of a person in the Mss. K. C. C.

* *Deliverly* was he dyt uch day at morrwe.

† *Deliverly* on the morrwe the day gan dawe.

‡ A douti man and *deliver* in dedus of armes.

* P. 11.

† P. 49.

‡ P. 53.

The

The like is to be found in the version of Gawin Douglas.

* The zounkeris tho of Troy and Sicilly
Gan stertin al on fut *deliverly*.

Deliverly, *nimbly, cleverly*, from deliver, *nimble* agilis : quæ vox nondum prorsus exolevit. Gloss. ibid. By *the man, whose myghte delievretie had knite*, we are to understand, *the person, to whose prowess activity and dexterity were superadded*. To knit is to join.

† I wol ben his, to whom that I am knit.

S N E T T E.

The word Snette in the notes is interpreted *bent* : but people seldom bent their bows, before they got to the place, where they were to use them. The word seems to be of quite a different purport. It is certainly a provincial term for snatched : just as scrat is often used for scratched : fet for fetched. Evander when he is informing Eneas of the ancient state of Italy, mentions the savage life of the first inhabitants : who

Thare fude of treis did in woddis *fet*.

Gawin Doug. l. 8. p. 252.

* P. 142. l. 50.

† Chaucer. v. 11298.

The same term is used by Robert of Gloucester.

Heo stode, & bi thogt hem best, & cables *fette* ynow.
i. e. fetched. p. 148. l. 5.

Analogous to the word *snette*, we find *stret* used by our author for *stretch*: p. 87. v. 154.

And *stret* and engyne alle the human witte.

So *twitte* is used in the first Eclogue for *twitch*.

From her galled necke did *twitte* the chayne away.

The meaning of the lines, about which we are concerned, seems to be this. William, the pride of the Normans, but the bane of England; the man, whose prowess was joined with address, and activity, snatched up his long bow, and called his knights to attend him to the chase.

A B O R N E.

Snette oppe his long strunge bowe & sheelde
aborne.

This is interpreted — *burnished*: but I do not see, why it is taken for a participle. His shield *aborne* may possibly mean nothing more than his *awburn* shield. *Awburne* from *awbour*: French: brown of a tan colour.

Johnson's

Johnson's Dict. Nothing is more common than to meet in old poems with accounts of *brown* bills, *brown* blades, and *brown* armour.

There dwelt a Lombard in the town,
A doughtie man of great renowne,
And he gathered a great hoast,
And rode foorth with great boast;
And in his hand a good fauchowne,
That was made of steele *browne*.

The Hist. of Bevis of Hampton.

Thus it is said of Sir Lionel in la Mort d'Arthure—

Sir Lyonel he gonne to tene,
And hastily he made hym bowne;
To Launcelotte with herte kene
He rode with helme and sword *browne*.

This may be the meaning of the word: but I have sometimes thought, that the line was not truly copied: and, that instead of—

hys long-strunge bow, & sheeld *aborne*,
we should read—

hys long strunge bow, & sheeld, and *borne*.

When a person was preparing for the field, or the lists, the things, with which he was generally presented by his squire, or by the herald, were his spear, his shield, and his horn or byrn; which last was a sort of corslet. This is shewn manifestly by our author a few pages before; where the herald says, that he

must go to the knights, who were to engage,
and present them with these things.

I sonne of honnoure, spencer of her joyes,
Must swythen goe to yeve the speeres arounde,
Wyth adventayle, and *borne*. p. 29. v. 11, 12.

Here instead of the shield he mentions the adventayle, or helmet; and then subjoins the *borne*. Of the adventaile I have spoken before. What is here called a borne, is sometimes expressed burn, and byrn, from the Saxon Bepn-Thorax. Byrn, Bypn-homa; *lorica*. Bypnpiza, *loricatus miles*. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning, Appendix. In G. Douglas it is expressed *Birnye*.

He in his breistplait strang, & his *birnye*,
Ane four sward beltis law down by his the.

p. 230. l. 44.

It is in the glossary expounded—a kind of corslet, or brigandine used in old time: from the old French *brugne* or *brunie*: *thorax*, *lorica*. See Du Cange—Byrn, and Byrnan: also Brunea, and Bronea. He interprets it: *lorica*. Gloss. Lat. Theotisc. Thorax: militare ornamentum, *lorica*, *brunea*. Bronea. Tabul. Cesauriense: cum cæteris debitibus, et caballis, et bronea, et cætera arma. As the Conqueror was going only to the chase, and not to battle, we find him furnished with a bow instead of a spear, as being more necessary for that purpose. This bow is stiled
—his

—his long *strunge bow* : which I suspect to be a false reading. People going to the field did not string their bows at a distance : but waited till they came to the place of operation. I should therefore think, that the original was — his long *stronge bow* ; or *strange bow*, which is of the same purport, and analogous to the *breistplate strang*, quoted above from G. Douglas.

F L E M E D.

The *flemed* Owlet flapps her eve-speckte wynges.

This by the transcriber is interpreted in the notes — *frighted*. But the true meaning is the *wandering*, the *fugitive*, owl. The word is derived from the Saxon *plema*, and *plyma*, *profugus*. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning. To *fleme* is to *drive away*. *Enut cýng aþlymde ut Ædriȝ æþeling*. Chron. Sax. p. 151. l. 8. In the version of Gawin Douglas, Æneas speaks to Pallas, the son of Evander, concerning the Trojans, who were driven from their country.

Quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.

Quhilk flemyt of our realme newly agane
Unto the King Evander al seik we.

L. 8. p. 244. l. 23.

Under

Under the same acceptation it occurs in David Lyndsey.

Abel lay flane upon the ground :
Curst Cain *femit*, and vagabond.

Flemed, *banished*. While he *flemed* was,
—*While he was banished*. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester. In the laws of King Ethelred, No. 13, it is said, Et omnis flima sit flima in omni terrâ, qui fuerit in unâ. Johan. Bromton, p. 897. Flima, vox Saxonica, fugitium significat. Gloss. In the storie of William Canynge, the river Severne is said to roar *flemie* oer the sands, p. 278. v. 12. This *flemie* is the same as the Saxon *flema* above: by which is signified *vagabundus*.—*The wandering stream* roared, as it passed onward. From hence we may perceive, that when the transcriber could obtain intelligence concerning the purport of any word, he very prudently adopted it. But when no such assistance could be procured, he proceeded by guess: forming his opinion by the context. By these means we are often treated with conjectures, which are very remote from the truth. It likewise shews, that he had not opportunities of applying uniformly to Dictionaries: for this word is to be found in Kersey; who explains *flemed* by—*daunted* or *frighted*. But even Kersey does not come up to the truth. And here it may be observed

in respect to these Etymologists, Kersey, and Skinner : that we may safely trust to them for their authority about any ancient term : but concerning the purport of it, as explained by them, we have often reason to doubt.

L O R D Y N G E.

The *lordynge* toade ynn all hys passēs bides.

There seems here to be another great mistake of the transcriber ; who interprets *lordynge toade*, by the *toad standing upon his hind * legs*. But who ever saw a toad in this strange attitude ? By *lordyng* is signified *dull* and *heavy* ; any thing stupid, and that will not get out of one's way. It was more generally expressed *lourdan* : and we accordingly read in Lye's additions to Junius—*lourdan*, bardus, stupidus, hebes. G. lourdant. B. loerd. It is still used in some parts of England ; and expressed, *lourdy*. Accordingly Ray says, *Lourdy*, sluggish, from the French *lourd*, focors, ignavus. † *Lourdant*, *lourdin*, bardus. East and South country words. p. 105. When then the poet says

The *lordynge* toade ynn alle hys passēs bides,

* He found this probably in Skinner.

† *Lordant*, or *Lordane*, a *dull heavy fellow*. Kersey.
the

the meaning is, that the *dull, heavy, lumpish* toad abode in every place, through which the king passed. It was constantly in his way, wheresoever he turned.

BERTEN NEDERS.

The berten neders att hymm darte the
styngge.

The viper or adder was by the Saxons stiled
nedðp, and nedðep: and by the English writ-
ers; who came after them, nedder. Robert
of Gloucester, speaking in praise of Ireland,
says —

For *nedres* ne other wormes ne mow ther be noght,
And gef he beth thider bi cas from other londes y
brought
Heo dyeth, &c. p. 43. l. 11.

The same is to be found in Chaucer. v. 9660.

Like to the *nedder* in bosom slie untrew.

A nedder, coluber. Northumb. Ray's
county dialects. Mr. Tyrwhitt in his learn-
ed observations upon Chaucer observes, that
the word Newt has certainly been formed by
a corruption from *an ewt* or *eft*: and he adds
—*perhaps* NEDDER, *n*: *Saxon*, may have been
formed in the same way from AN ADDER. The

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Gloss. to Chaucer. v. 5. p. 138.
word

word in Teutonic is adder, without the initial n: which makes his opinion highly probable.

B E R T E N.

This word in the notes is interpreted *poisonous*: but I imagine, that the transcriber proceeded here, as in other instances, by guess; thinking, that it was an epithet the most applicable to a serpent. *Bertin* is probably a contraction of *beretin*, and relates to colour. It denoted any thing which had a dark gray; or rather an obscure and disagreeable brown appearance. *Berretinus*, cinereus; leucophæus. Du Cange. He quotes for it a passage, containing the words—*tunicas—non berretinas, aut griseas, et ad nigredinem tendentes*. It was the same colour, as the Grecians styled leucophæus, which is mentioned by Pliny: and is thus interpreted by Harduin. *Leucophæus color fuscus est, mixtusque ex albo nigroque*. L. 24. p. 344. notæ Harduini.

T Y N Y A N.

The poet, speaking of Sarum and Stonehenge, subjoins the following account of it, p. 224. v. 305.

Where

Where auncient Bardi dyd their verses fynde
 Of Cæsar conquered, and his mighty hoste :
 And how old Tynyan, necromancing kynge,
 Wreck'd all hys shyppynge on the Brittish coaste,
 And made him in his tattered barks to flie,
 Till Tynyans deth and opportunity.

Cæsar gives an account of two storms, by which his shipping suffered greatly. The latter was of most consequence: as his whole fleet was greatly damaged; and forty ships were intirely lost. Thus far the poet's account is conformable to history: and the precipitate retreat of Cæsar in his *tattered barks* seems likewise to be well founded. See Cæsar's Com. L. 4, and 5. We are also informed by our own historians, that there was such a person as Tynian; who by Matthew of Westminster is stiled *Tennancius*: p. 37. by Caxton *Tenancius*: Chron. Fol. 176. and he is mentioned by Fabian and others. Geoffry of Monmouth, speaking of the first encounter of Cassibelane with the Romans, says, *aderant etiam duo nepotes ejus, Androgeos, et Tenuancius, Dux Cornubiæ*. C. 3. p. 24. He is said to have been the son of King Lud; and to have reigned himself after the death of Cassibelane. Thus far therefore, we find history to be consonant to the poet's account, that there was such a person as Tynian: that he lived at the time of the invasion of the Romans: and that he was a
king

king of the country. But that he was at that time an old man, and that by his magic the storm was raised, by which the Roman navy suffered, does not agree with the commonly received accounts. It is an history probably taken from a romantic description by some bard of Wales. All the British accounts of these times are extravagant and fabulous; and never uniformly related.

D Y N E F A R E.

In the Battle of Hastings the poet mentions a noble Saxon, who was in some degree related to a prince of this title.

Yonge Egelrede, a knygte of comelie mien,
Affin'd unto the kyng of *Dynefarre*.

p. 216. v. 131.

It may possibly have puzzled many people, to find out, who this prince was; and where his territories lay. I must confess, that I was for some time in a state of suspense; before I could recollect the true history of the place, from whence this king is denominated: looking round at a great distance, for that, which was more immediately under my eye. What the poet expresses *Dynefarre* was the same, which was more truly rendered *Dynevore*; and by the Welch *Dinevour*. It was
in

in South Wales; and one of the three places of royal residence, where the Welch monarchs kept their court. This we may learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, who specifies these three places. Tres enim fuerant Walliæ totius Curia principales: *Dinevour* in Sudwalliâ:—Aberfraw in Norwalliâ; Pengwern in * Powisiâ. p. 884. As it was a place of such eminence, it gave name to the whole region, of which it was the capital.

Powel having given a description of the two northern principalities of this country, adds.—*Now remaineth the laste kingdome of Wales, called Dinevowr; which although it was the greatest, yet was it not the best, as Giraldus witnesseth: cheeflie bicause it was much molested with Flemings and Normans; and also that in divers parts thereof the lords would not obey their prince, &c.* p. 17. In other respects he speaks of it as a fine country.

It is said, that Roderick the Great, about the year 870, first divided Wales into three kingdoms: though many think, that it was from the beginning parted out in this manner. However Powel in his account abides by the former opinion: and gives us the following history of the event. He tells us,

* He says the same in another place. Fuerunt enim antiquitus tres principales in Walliâ Curia. *Dinewor* in Sudwalliâ, &c.—p. 847.

that

that Rhoderick before his death divided the kingdom in the manner before mentioned; and that he gave Aberfraw, or North Wales, to his eldest son Anarawd: Cadelh, the second son, had Dinewour, and South Wales; and Merwyn, the third, had the country of Powys. But after his death, Cadelh seized upon Powys-land and Mathraval; which he kept from the right heirs by force. Powel, p. 35. Dinevour, or South Wales, consisted properly of six counties: and sometimes, by the addition of Radnorshire, of seven. Of this we are informed by the same writer, in his extract from Humfrey Lhoyd. *These six shires being subject to the territorie of Dynevour with Radnorshire, which was belonging to Mathraval, are now commonlie called South Wales: which countrie is both great and large, with manie faire plaines and vallies for corne; high mountaines and rocks; full of pasture for cattel: great and thicks woods, with forrests; and parks for red deere and fallow; cleare and deepe rivers full of fish, &c.* p. 21.

It is said of Egelrede, the Saxon, that he was *affined* to the king above mentioned: which relation was probably by a marriage into that prince's family. Who the person was to whom he was thus related, may be with great probability made out: for the king, who reigned at the time alluded to in

U

the

the poem, was Meredyth ap Owen; who had been so constituted by Harold in the year 1064. Powel informs us, that *Caradoc ap Gruffyth* was the first, that procured *Haroald* for to come to Wales against *Gruffyth ap Llewelyn*, hoping by him to atteine unto the government of South Wales: but it fell out otherwise. For when *Haroald* understood, that he should not get that at the hands of *Caradoc*, which he looked for (which was a certaine lordship within Wales, nigh unto Hereford) and knowing also *Caradoc* to be a subtile and deceiptfull man; compounding with *Meredyth ap Owen*, for that lordship, he made him king, or prince of South Wales, p. 104. This was two years before the battle of * Hastings.

N Y G H T E - M A R E S.

Harke, the Dethe-Owle loude dothe synge,
To the Nyghte-Mares, as heie goe.

Ælla, p. 137. v. 867.

The night-mare is a disorder, arising from an oppression, to which people are subject in their sleep. But the true author of the sonnet, who seems to be well acquainted with the Gothic mythology, has a further allusion.

* See Florent. Wigornienfis ad annum 1064. p. 633.

He accordingly speaks of the Night-Mares in the plural; and introduces them as persons: for they were looked upon as so many infernal hags, or dæmons. The chief, from whom the others had their name, was stiled *Mara*; and esteemed a foul incubus; though mentioned in the Edda, as one of the original deities, which attended upon Friga and Odin. Mytholog. xxx. Olaus Wormius calls her *Mara*: nocturnum spectrum, et dormientibus infidiosum. Mon. Dan. p. 18. Junius speaks to the same purpose. Mare, night-mare, incubus, ephialtes. Belgis quoque dicitur mære, merrie, &c.—Su. mara. Ang. Sax. mara. There were more than one of this character; and they are thus described by Junius in a quotation from a German glossary. Huc etiam pertinet alter locus, Al. Glo. O. 5. Phylosi, Dæmonum genus. Hos nonnulli Doctissimorum Incubones et Satyros, &c putaverunt. Etymolog. Ang. These are the Night-Mares which the author supposes to take their flight in the depth of darkness, at the time when the Death-Owl was screaming.

S H O O N E - P Y K E S.

Ne browded mantell of a scarlette hue ;
 Ne *shoon-pykes* plaited o'er with ribbande
 geere.

Ne costlie *paraments* of woden blue.

Storie of Master Canynge. v. 43.

This is a piece of history, with which I should not imagine, that the transcriber was at all acquainted. Mr. Tyrwhitt has given us the true purport of the term *shoon-pykes*; and explains them by *shoes with piked toes*. He farther tells us, that the pikes were restrained to two inches by 3 Edw. 4. c. 5. It is very certain, that they had been for a great while increasing, till at last the pikes were so long, that they were forced to be supported by silver chains, and other helps, according to the estate of the person, who kept up to the fashion. Stowe tells us—Anno 1463. 29. April, *began a parliament at Westminster: in the which was ordained—that no man weare shooes, or bootes, having pikes passing two inches in length: or shoemaker to make them above that size.* Chron. p. 417. He speaks of it afterwards more fully, when he treats of the transactions of the year 1465. *It was proclaimed thorowout England, that the beakes or pikes of*
shoone

shoone or boots shoulde not passe two inches, upon paine of cursing by the clergy, and forfeiting 20s. to be payd, one noble to the king, another to the corwainers in London. And for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time and since the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoos and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tyed up to their knees with chaines of silver, gilt: or at least with silk laces, p. 419. Camden quotes from an history, which he calls Eulogium, to the same purpose. *Their shoes and pattens are snowted and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards; which they call Crackowes, resembling the divel's clawes; which are fastened to the knees with chaines of gold and *silver. The clergy gave into this extravagant fashion, as we learn from the author of Pierce Plowman's vision.*

*Proude priestes come wyth him, mo than a thousand
In paltokes & piked shoes, & piffers long knives.* p. 114.

P A R A M E N T S. *ibid.*

This word in the notes is interpreted robes of scarlet as may be seen in the tragedy of *Ælla*, p. 79. v. 52. and in the glossary. According to Du Cange, it is taken in a more

* Camden's Remains, p. 232. See Holinshed, v. 3. p. 668.

extensive signification. Paramentum, apparatus, five bellicus, five alius quivis: rerum necessariarum copia, instructio. The word is again introduced by Rowley in the English Metamorphoses, v. 36.

Estfoons the gentle Locryne was posselt
Of swaie, and vested in the *paramente*.

This too is supposed by the transcriber to have been a garment: and it is accordingly interpreted *a princely robe*. But he seems to have been mistaken. For in this place it appears rather to have been a suggestum, or throne, where kings at the commencement of their reigns were invested with all the ensigns of royalty. Du Cange quotes Hincmarus Rhemensis, who is advising the prince, to whom he writes concerning the disorders committed by soldiers: and he begs to have them restrained by the king's personal injunctions. He concludes with these words—*et antequam de Paramento vestro ad mansiones redeant, commonete eos secundum sapientiam vestram*. Again—*Ut si tales sint, qui antea hanc admonitionem non audierint, eis quotidie, quando ad paramentum vestrum venerint, relegat*. Upon this Du Cange observes—*paramentum videtur esse tribunal paratum, seu adornatum*. When it is therefore said by the poet, that Locrine upon his succeeding to the kingdom, was vested in *the paramente*,

paramente, it does not necessarily mean—*a robe*: but it alludes to the * throne, in which he was crowned, and likewise vested with every ornament suitable to his dignity. The word occurs in two different acceptations; of which the transcriber was not at all aware.

W O D E N B L U E. *ibid.*

He was probably not acquainted with the purport of this term, as he has no where given his opinion concerning it. Woden blue is that colour obtained from the herb called woad, which is used in dying. It is the same as was of old stiled glastum; and which is mentioned by Du Cange. Glastum. Gallis herbæ genus, quo Britanni tingendis corporibus usi, ut auctor est Cæsar. L. 5. de bello Gall. et Plinius. L. 20, 22. c. 27. p. 267, &c.—I have spoken of it before.

H O K E D A Y and H O K E T I D E.

This is the name given to an ancient festival, the origin of which is very uncertain;

* To my ear there seems to be a difference in sense between a person's being said to be vested in *a* parament; and in *the* parament. The words in *a* parament mean *in a robe of state*. In *the* parament signifies, *in the throne*.

nor is the purport of the term assuredly known. We find, that it is more than once mentioned in this collection of poems.

As mastie dogs, at *Hoetide* set to fyghte.

First Batt. of Haft. p. 226. v. 348.

Browne as the nappy ale at *Hoetyde* game.

Second Batt. of Haft. v. 422.

Orre Cornysh wraflers at a *Hoetyde* game.

ib. v. 486.

All our Etymologists suppose, that this festival was observed in commemoration of the Danes being in one day destroyed through the kingdom. This is said to have been put in execution by order of King Ethelred, the son of Edgar, in the year 1002. Accordingly Spelman affords us this account of it. Hocday, Hokeday, Hoctuesday, festivitas, quam, derisis ejectisque Danis, Angli (ut exactis Regibus Romani fugalia) annue in lætitiā celebrabant: quæ nec hodie apud mediterraneos penitus exolevit. Lambardus (in itinerario Cantij, Tit. Sandwich) dictum putat quasi þucxtuesday, id est dies Martis irrisorius—&c. Origo rei inde videtur petenda, quod Æthelredus Rex sub armorum lustrandorum specie, uno eodemque die per universum regnum Danos omnes occidit: ut testantur L. L. Edvardi Confessoris, ca. 35. I omit the various etymologies given by Spelman, as well as those by Skinner, Du Cange,

Cange, and others. I shall only observe, that they, and, I believe, most modern writers upon the subject, suppose the festival to have been instituted on account of the slaughter of the Danes. But this seems on many accounts impossible; however in later times asserted, and believed. That there was a cruel and unwarrantable slaughter of this people, cannot be doubted; though it could not be so general as represented: for they were in the provinces of Northumbria, and of the East Angles, too powerful not to have made some defence. But let the commands of the king have been ever so fully executed, yet why should so cruel, and so ineffectual a piece of policy be commemorated by a festival? What good accrued to the nation from it? None at all: for the very next year in consequence of this cruelty, the Danes came with their King Swain at their head; and over-ran all the western provinces with fire and sword; nor did their fury cease, till they became masters of the kingdom: which misfortune had never happened, but for this instance of Ethelred's cruelty. Besides this extirpation of the Danes is expressly said by our best historians, to have been effected upon a Wednesday the 13th of November, which was the feast of St. Brice: but Hockday was upon a Tuesday in March; which was termed *Huxtuesday* and *Quindena*

Quindena Paschæ. This seems to shew, that the transaction spoken of could have no relation to the festival. Add to this, that if there had been any connexion between them, we should find it appear in the accounts given of this event by the most ancient historians. They mention the slaughter of the Danes; but not one of them takes notice of any commemoration being instituted. Not the least reference to this Hocktide is to be found in any of them. Thus William of Malmfbury enumerates many instances of folly and inhumanity in Ethelred; and particularly his cruelty towards the Danes; which he holds in detestation. * *Nam præter Anglos, quos nullis causis extantibus exhæredebant, vel afficto crimine opibus emungebat; præter Danos, quos levibus suspicionibus omnes uno die in totâ Angliâ trucidari jusserat; ubi fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque charissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeretur prodere, et amplexus gladio deturbare. Præter hæc etiam in uxorem, &c.*—This fearful event is taken notice of by the author of the † *Saxon Chronicle*; by Simeon ‡ *Dunelmensis*; by the

* *De Gestis Reg. Ang. L. 2. p. 64.*

† *Sax. Chron. p. 133. l. 1. annó 1002. on Bpucur mæjrdæg.*

‡ *Sim. Dunelm. p. 165.*

Abbat of * Rievall ; by † Radulphus de Diceto ; by ‡ Henry de Knyhton ; by || Florence of Worcester ; by § Matthew of Westminster ; and by other writers. The last mentioned historian is very full upon this head : and informs us, that this massacre took place from the evil advice of one Huna, an officer in the king's army. Tunc Rex, non mediocriter commotus ejusdem Hunæ consilio misit literas in omnes regni fines, mandans nationibus singulis, et universis, ut sub unâ die, in festo scilicet Sancti Britij Episcopi, omnes Dani per Angliam constituti furtivo impetu morti traderentur.—Sicque Dani, qui firmo fœdere, paulo ante utrinque jurato, cum Anglis pacifice habitare debuerant, opprobriose nimis sunt perempti ; mulieres cum liberis ad domorum postes allisæ miserabiliter animas effuderunt. Cum igitur hujus decreti sententia apud urbem Londoniæ absque misericordiâ exequeretur, fugerunt multi Danorum ad quandam ** Ecclesiam in civitate, ubi omnes sine pietate,

* Abbas Rievall. p. 362. l. 63.

† Radulf. de Diceto. p. 461. l. 57.

‡ —In nocte Sancti Bricij : set Swanus Rex execrabiler hoc vindicavit. H. de Knyhton. p. 2315. l. 40.

|| Florent. de Worcestre. p. 611. l. 29.

§ Matt. West. p. 200. l. 44.

** St. Clement's Danes.

ipsis astantes altaribus, sunt perempti. He proceeds afterwards to inform us of the evils, which came upon the nation in consequence of this cruelty. But not a word is here mentioned of any celebrity established by way of memorial. Indeed it was almost impossible in the nature of things: for before that day next year, the Danes were in the heart of the* kingdom: so that there was more reason to grieve than to rejoice.—Quod Daci transmarini audientes, in furorem versi, duce Swaino, cum innumerabili exercitu Angliam intrantes, diffusi sunt per provincias, et dispersi, non ordini, non sexui, non ætati parcentes; nec ab Ecclesiarum vel monasteriorum sacris et sanctuarijs manus sacrilegas continentes. Abbas Rievallis. p. 362, 3. l. 65. Let any body judge, if any holyday could be established in consequence of an event, which entailed such misery on the nation. Hence John Ross, and Speed, supposed the memorial to have been on account of Hardiknute, the last Danish king. But he died at Lambeth on the 6th of June: how can his death relate to a festival in the middle of March? And how comes it, if it were so, that not one of the more ancient writers should have mentioned it? See J. Ross, p. 105, 6. Speed, p. 392. It is moreover

* St. Clement's Danes.

to be observed, that as those, who speak of the slaughter of the Danes, take no notice of Hocktide, or any festival : so Matthew Paris, who speaks of Hock-day, makes no mention of the Danes. Hence I think, we may be assured, that there was no relation, nor correspondence between the two circumstances. The festival is mentioned more than once by the historian above (M. P.) and from hence we may learn something about the time of the celebrity. The first instance occurs in the reign of King Henry the Third. * *Anni quoque sub ejusdem circulo, die videlicet lunæ, quæ ipsum diem præcedit proximo, quam Hokedai vulgariter appellamus, fecit Dominus Rex omnes Londinenses a minimo usque ad maximum voce præconiâ convocari.* Again.—† *Circa idem tempus, scilicet in quindenâ Paschæ, quæ vulgariter Hokeday appellatur, &c.*—Again.—‡ *Et post diem Martis quæ vulgariter Hokedaie appellatur, factum est Parlamentum Londini : Rex enim multis et arduis rebus sollicitabatur.* We do not from these extracts find, that this festival had any reference to the murder of the Danes : nor indeed have we, as far as I can learn, any account of its original. The author however of the Glossary supposes, that it did re-

* P. 834. anno 1252.

† P. 904. l. 39.

‡ P. 963. l. 43.

late to this history, and mentions a custom, which prevailed in most parts of England, for women upon this day to stand in the public ways with ropes, and stop people, who passed by; and beg a gratuity from them. The whole was carried on with jokes and laughter. This the author thinks was done by way of commemoration. *Diem observatum tradunt in memoriam omnium Danorum eâ die clanculo, et simul in Angliâ, ubi tum dominabantur, a mulieribus fere occisorum.* But not one historian gives the least hint, that any women were partakers in this massacre: and it is to be hoped for the honour of the sex, that they were not in the least concerned in it. The ceremony of standing in the public ways with cords, and stopping people and asking for a piece of money, has no relation to the object, which it is supposed to commemorate. All that we can learn is that the festival was ancient, and held upon or near the 15th of March: and the season seems to have been in great measure allotted to festivity and carousing. The common people had their sports of different sorts, such as wrestling, baiting of the bull; and other manly amusements. One peculiar custom among the women has been mentioned above: and it is farther said of them, that when they stopped any person, with their
cords,

cords, they used to beg a gratuity, which they expended upon pious uses. Plot speaks of this celebrity as still subsisting in Oxfordshire, when he wrote. He styles it * Hoc-day, Hockday, Hokeday, Hocketide, Hokemon-day, and Hocketuesday; and supposes, as others have done, that it was in memory of the great slaughter of the Danes. He mentions, that there were two Hokedays observed in Oxfordshire, the one for men, and the other for women; which latter he says, was the more solemn. Upon this day they had ropes and chains, with which they stopped passengers, and exacted a small piece of money. With part of this they regaled themselves; and bestowed the remainder upon pious uses. The whole probably is the remains of an ethnic custom: for March was looked upon as the first month of the year; and there were particular ceremonies and holidays observed by most nations in different parts of the month. Among the Romans were the Hilaria; and the festival of Anna Perenna: which last was upon the fifteenth of the month. At this season they drank, both men and women, in larger cups of wine: and for every cup wished each other an additional year of life. At the same time there was a deal of laughter and occasional wit, though not of the purest kind.

* Hist. of Oxfordshire, C. viii. p. 201, 2.

* Inde joci veteres obscænaque dicta feruntur.

† Strabo mention, that the young women of Babylon used to sit with a rope round their middle; and whoever laid hold of it in order to gain their acquaintance, they demanded a piece of money of that person, which they presented at the temple of Venus. Whether the Hockday has any relation to these ancient ceremonies, cannot be easily determined; as we have not a sufficient history concerning it. There are many different etymologies of Hockday and Hocktide. Those seem to be nearest the truth, who derive it from hock, high. Hockday, quasi high-day. Hoga, hoghia, hogium et hogum. mons; collis. Hoch al. hog: Belg. hook: altus; editus. Spelman. This seems in some degree to be confirmed by its being also called Hext-Tuesday; for Hext is the superlative of hoch, high: and answers to highest now. John Ross above mentioned, expresses it in this manner, p. 105.—In cujus signum usque hodie illâ die, vulgariter dictâ *Hextuisday*, ludunt in villis, trahendo chordas partialiter cum alijs jocis. That *Hext-Tuesday* signified *Highest Tuesday*, may be known from many passages in ancient English wri-

* Ovid. Fast. L. 3. v. 695.

† Lib. 16. p. 1081. See also Herodotus. L. 1. c. 199. p. 94. He says the rope was upon their heads.

ters:

ters: and especially from Robert of Gloucester. Thus he introduces the term, where he is speaking of the foundation first laid for Salisbury Cathedral.

* Ther was Pandulf the legate, & as *hext* of ech on
He leide vive the verste stoncs, as vor the Pope that on.

Speaking of King Edgar's dream, he says—

† Upe the *hexte* bowe tuiye applen he seȝ.

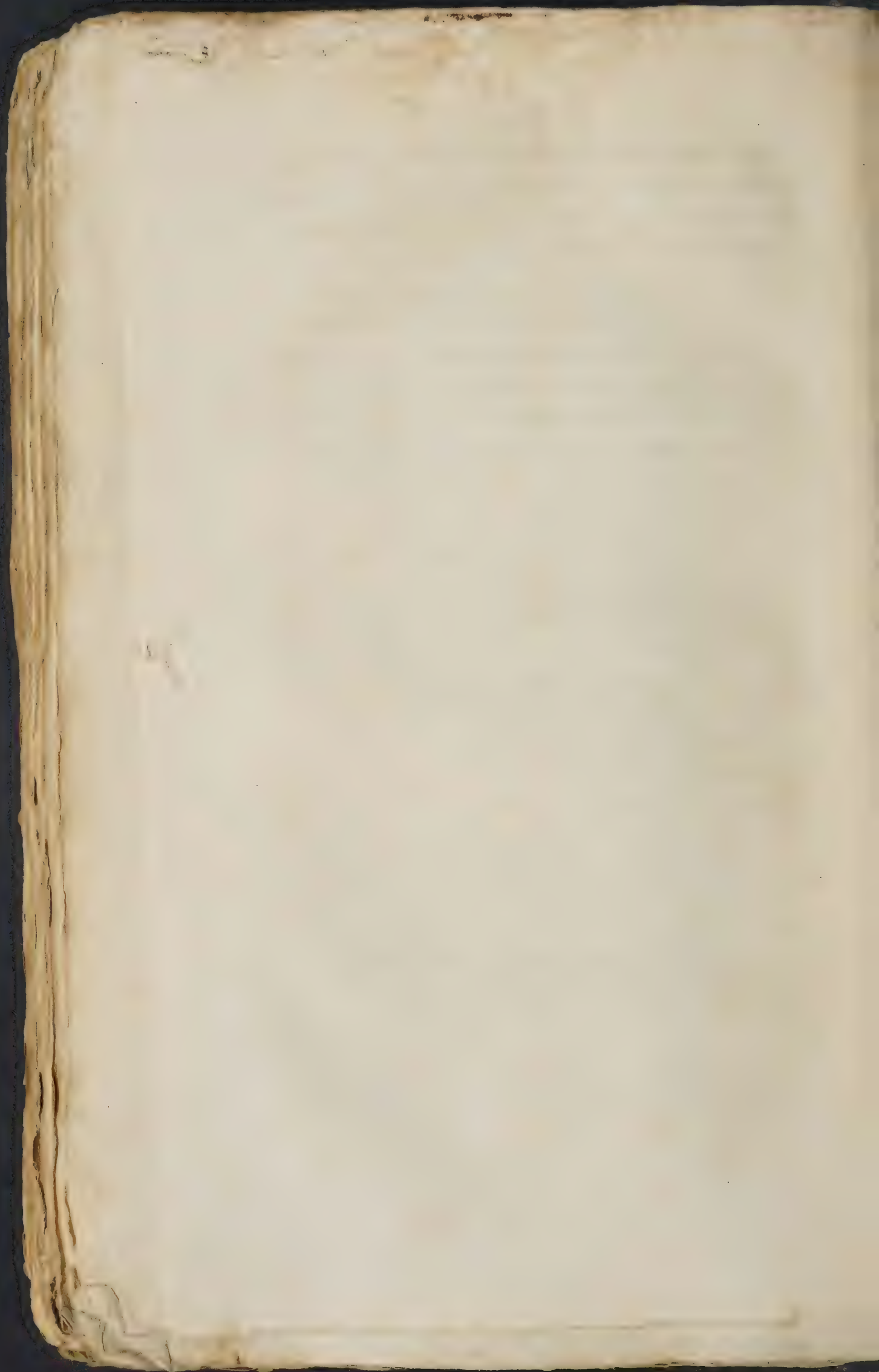
i. e. *He beheld two apples upon the highest bough.*

From hence I am induced to think, that by *Hock*-day was meant the *high*-day: and by *Hext*-tuesday, the *highest* Tuesday. And as I before mentioned, I imagine, that it was an ancient celebrity, which was observed about the middle of March: but interfering with the preparation for Easter, it was postponed till after that Sunday; and was kept under the title of an high day on the Tuesday following. In some places it seems not to have been celebrated till the fifteenth day after Easter, called *Quindena Paschæ*. It was at this season, according to Dr. Plott, observed in his time by the people of Oxfordshire.

* P. 518.

† P. 283. In another place he mentions, King Gurmund the *hexte* king. Rob. of Glouc. p. 266. Thretty of her *hexte* dukes. *ibid.* l. 10. i. e. *highest*.

END OF THE FIRST PART.



OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY:

PART II.

CONVENT and MINSTER

Of our Lady and Saint Goodwyne.

IN the Balade of *Charitie* mention is made of the convent of St. Godwine: which in the prose account of William Canninge Rowley stiles the Minister of our Lady and St. Goodwin *. He tells us, that he was employed by the excellent man, his friend and patron, to go to the principal abbies and priories to purchase for him pictures, and other curiosities; and the first place that he visited, was this convent of our Lady and St. Goodwine. It is by the learned Mr. Warton supposed, that the place alluded to was at Worcester. We are told in the notes to the poem, that the abbot at that time was Ralph de Bellomont: but from whom this intelligence proceeded, we are not informed. It was probably annexed to the original manuscript by the hand of the author. Thus much is certain, that the family of the Bellomont's, of which family were some of the Earls of Warwick, had been benefactors to several religious houses in this part of the world. At Warwick one of them

* Miscell. in prose and verse, by T. C. p. 125.

founded an hospital for lepers. * Domus lepro-
 forum St. Michaelis Warwici fundata per Ro-
 gerum de Bello-monte, Comitem Warwilen-
 sem. The like benefactions were conferred upon
 the place by his son, † Anno Dñi M C LXXXIII.
 fundata est domus Johannis extra muros per
 Gulielmum Comitem, filium Rogeri de Bel-
 lomonte. The same Roger de Bellomont
 built also in this city the convent of Augustine
 Friars. ‡ Rogerus de Bello-monte induxit
 Canonicos Ordinis St. Augustini in ecclesiam
 S. Sepulchri, quam Henricus de Bello-monte,
 pater ejus, construxit ad petitionem Hieroso-
 lymitarum. Hæc erat capitalis domus hujus
 ordinis per Angliam et Walliam. Putantque
 Almaricum hujus loci primum Priorem ad
 Patriarchalem sedem Hierosolymitarum fuisse
 translatus. These histories will serve to
 shew the great wealth of this family; and
 their liberality to the church. Concerning
 any benefactions to Worcester I do not read.
 Thus much we know, that there was in this
 place an ancient convent dedicated to Saint
 Mary, mentioned by Harpsfeld, p. 769.
 which may possibly be the convent spoken of

* Leland. Itin. v. 4. Append. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 162.

‡ Ibid. p. 161. Concerning the Bellomonts, see also
 vol. vi. p. 63. and Dugdale's Monasticon, v. i. p. 289.
 359. 470. 510. 598. 626. 724; also in v. ii.

in the poem. Worcestriæ, quæ et Wigornia, T. S. Mariæ, S. Wolstani, Stæ Catharina, fundavit Sexwulphus Episcopus Merciorum A. D. 680. Oswaldus Episcopus Wigorn. Wolstanus ibidem Episcop. A. D. 1090.—Nigri Monachi. Reditus annuus. £.1386. 12s. 10d. In the *Actus Pontificum* by William Stubbs, the author speaking of the death of Bp. Oswald, says,—11 idus Marcij migravit ad Dominum, et Wygornia in Ecclesiâ Stæ Mariæ, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, requiescit. p. 1699. We find, that there were religious places at Worcester dedicated to St. Mary: but the person, who seems to speak most to the purpose, is Lambarde, where he is treating of this place. *The towne bathe the ryver Severne on the west therof, and had longe sence (besides the Bishops chaire) a castle, and certeine religious buildinges, that is to say, St. Maries Abbay—*&c. p. 405. This is the same monastery, which is mentioned above by Stubbs and Harpsfeld; and the same, I believe, which is alluded to by the poet. As the family of the Bellomonts had been such benefactors to the church, we need not wonder, if one of them is mentioned as Abbot of a rich convent in their * neighbourhood. For this

* Lewis de Bellomonte, in the reign of Edward the Second, was Bishop of Durham.

monastery was very wealthy: and we find above, that at the dissolution the annual income was estimated at £.1386. 12s. 10d. The abbot, in consequence of it, is represented by the poet, as remarkably splendid in his attire; and haughty in his demeanor.

We find, that the monastery had its name from *our Ladie* and Saint *Godwin*. The former title has been authenticated by the evidence above given: but concerning St. Godwin I can obtain no intelligence. We find in Capgrave and * Serenus Cressy a Saint Golwin, who is said to have been an Armo-rican; and to have lived in the fourth century. There was likewise a Saint † Goven, who was of British original: and from whom a promontory in Pembroke-shire had the name of St. Goven's Point. Both St. Goven, and St. Golwen are easily mistaken for Godwin. Leland takes notice of St. Godwald, who had a church dedicated to him at Worcester; ‡ but adds, *who this St. Godwald was, I could not certainly learn*. As he appears to have been one of the tutelary Saints of the place, he may possibly have been the same, who in the transcript from Rowley is stiled || Godwin,

* L. 14. p. 319. † Camd. p. 714. ‡ Lel. v. iv. p. 104.

|| Abbies and other religious houses, had many names, being dedicated to more Saints than one: Of this we may find innumerable instances in Harpsfield, Dugdale, and other writers,

There is reason to think, that several names in these poems have been not truly copied : nor has the transcriber in common words always kept up to the truth. It is a point of no great moment, but in this ballad of Charity, he speaks of St. Godwin's *convent* : but not many lines before the same word is expressed *covent*.

* ——— faste by a pathwaie side,
Which dide unto St. Godwin's covent lede.

This I imagine was the true reading in both places : as it agrees with the usage of the more early writers. Thus we find it rendered in the vision of Pierce Plowman :

† And al the *covent* furth came to welcome the tyrant,
It occurs likewise in Robert of Gloucester,
‡ And of the hous of Teukesbury thulke *covent* ys.

TEMPLE CHURCH.

Of the Temple Church at Bristol.

In a curious transcript from Rowley, an account is given of the first building of this church, which was undertaken by a foreigner, contrary to the advice of a native of the place. He foretold, that it would not be secure on

• P. 204. v. 15. † Fol. 112. ‡ P. 433. l. 14.

account

account of the soil, upon which it was to stand; and concerning which he had great suspicions. For there was a notion, that the river once ran there: and that the street called Rhi-street was denominated from that circumstance: the term *Rbi* being supposed to betoken a *river*. In consequence of this, the building, long before it was finished, gave way, and sunk; and could not be compleated. After this, the very person who had shewn his sagacity, was employed. He by piles and other means secured the foundation; and then raised the church to its proper height. Of the foundation, upon which the church now stands, people very lately had ocular demonstration: for the old gates leading to the Temple Church being decayed, the workmen were forced to dig, in order to fix some new ones: and within three feet of the surface they came to the ancient basis; which was of so strong workmanship, that they could not without great difficulty make their way through it. They did not, I believe, see the piles beneath: for the water rose in such quantities, that they could not reach so far. We have a curious attestation to the same purpose in William of Worcestre, who lived in the time of Rowley. He tells us, that in the street calle *le Pylle*, as you pass between St. Leonard's church, and the church

yard of St. Stephen, there were some houses built; and in digging for a foundation they found the soil so weak, that they were obliged to go 47 feet deep: in doing which they found a boat, and a parcel of ray-cloth, which had been buried there for a long season. They came also to a large tree. p. 268. The opinion concerning the river From once running where that street stands, is farther confirmed by the same author; which, as it is short, I will give in his own words. * *The yate of St. Leonard under the seyde chyrch crosseth 11 weys: the south-east way ys Baldwyne strete goyng to the bakke. The secund way is called Pylle-street: there of old dayes renne the water called Frome by Baldwyne strete to the bakk, fallyng into Avyn-water,* p. 177. He mentions both Pylle (or Pile) street, and Marsh-street: both of which had undoubtedly their names from the circumstances mentioned in these histories.

C A N Y N G E.

It is said in the † Memoirs concerning this excellent person, that in the year, in

* Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester a Jacob Nasmith, A.M. S.A.S. editum 1778. He wrote 1480.

† See Miscell. by T. Chatterton, p. 119.

which

which King Edward came to Bristow, he was recommended by that prince to a marriage with a lady, whom he had never seen; and who was of the Widdevile family, more commonly stiled Woodville. This was a noble match for him; as the head of the family was the Earl of Rivers; who had married Jaquilina of Luxemburgh, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford. But Canninge was above such honours. He likewise was too knowing not to see the snare, which was laid for him. For as he was not young, and at the same time immensely rich, the king undoubtedly wanted to match him to one of the Woodvilles, that all his fortune might be entailed upon the family, into which the king himself had married. But Canninge saw into this artifice; and to avoid a connexion, where he was not permitted either fight or choice, he went into orders, and was ordained by his friend Bishop Carpenter of Worcester. The king upon hearing this was angry beyond description, and resented Canninge's behaviour highly: so that, as we are informed by the author, Canninge was glad to present him with three thousand * marks, in order to avoid his future ill-will. This was an immense sum for those times, and almost incredible. But we have

* See Miscell. by T. Chatterton, p. 126.

authority for it, in the treatise before mentioned of William of Worcestre; who authenticates this part of the story, past all dispute. * Item ultra ista Edwardus Rex quartus habuit de dicto Wilelmo (Canyngis) 111 milia marcarum pro pace suâ habendâ. To let us know farther, how well able this notable person was to pay such a fine, he gives us an account of his trade and substance; which appears truly wonderful. The reader will excuse the latinity, and attend only to the information afforded. † Dominus Willelmus Canyngis, qui fuit Major Lond (lege Bristowe) 5 vicibus, per octo annos exhibuit octingentos homines in navibus occupatos: et habuit operarios, et carpentarios, masons, &c. omni die centum homines.

De navibus habuit le Mary } 400 doliatis.
Canyngys de

Le Mary Radclyf, pondere 500 doliat.

Le Mary et John, pondere 900 doliatar.

Constabat sibi in toto 4000
marcas.

Le Galyot Navis, pondere 50 doliat.

Le Catern, pondere 140 doliat.

Le Marybat, pondere 220 doliat.

Le Margyt de Tynly, pondere 200 doliat.

Le lytylle Nicholas, pondere 140 doliat.

* P. 99.

† Ibid.

Le Kateryn de Boston, pondere 220 doliat.

Le navis in Iseland perdita } 160 doliat.
circa pondus

He had given before a short account of this excellent man ; which authenticates many things found in Rowley. * Dominus Willelmus Canynges, ditissimus, et sapientissimus, mercator Villæ Bristoliæ, Decanus Ecclesiæ Westbery, obiit 17 die Novembris anno Christi 1474 : et exal(ta)tus fuit in ordine presbyteratûs 7 annis : et quinquies Major dictæ Villæ fuit, electus pro Republicâ dictæ Villæ. This was the person, whom Rowley with unfeigned regard styles—† *a grete and good man, the favouryte of God, the friende of the chyrche, the compayonne of kynges, and the fadre of hys natyve cittie.* By the death of his father and an elder brother, he came to a large fortune, by which means he was enabled to raise his brother John very greatly in life ; so that in the year 1456, he became Lord Mayor of London.

And put his broder into syke a trade,

That he Lorde Mayre of Londonne towne was made.

p. 283.

This is verified by the lists of the Mayors in ‡ Fabian, Stowe, &c. Of Sir William Canynge's

* Itinerar. Will. Wor. p. 83.

† See Rowley's Memoirs of William Canynge, p. 117.

‡ There is however great reason to think that his name

Canynge's going into orders to avoid the marriage proposed by King Edward, we have the following evidence, for which we are indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt. * *It is certain, from the register of the Bishop of Worcester, that Mr. Canynge was ordained Acolytbe by Bishop Carpenter on 19th of September, 1467; and received the higher orders of Subdeacon, Deacon, and Priest, on the 12th of March, 1467. O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, respectively.* We find farther from William of † Worcester, that he was at last made Dean of Westbury: for which place Bishop Carpenter seems to have entertained a great regard, in so much, that he chose it for his principal place of residence; and wanted it to be made a Bishop's See, and to be united to Worcester. ‡ Johannes Carpenter voluit in titulum assumere, ut Episcopus Wigorn: et Westburiensis diceretur. Hic ex veteri Collegio, quod erat Westebiriæ, novum fecit, et prædijs auxit, addito pinnato muro, portâ, et turribus, instar Castelli. The bishop died, ac-

name was not John: for Fabian, who lived in the same century, and was himself Lord Mayor of London, mentions Canynge, who was a Grocer, both as Mayor and Sheriff: and in each of these capacities he styles him Thomas.

* Introductory account by Mr. Tyrwhitt, p. xxiii.

† P. 83.

‡ Leland's Itin. v. viii. p. 100.

ording to * Godwin at Northweek, and was buried at Westbury. The same is said by Leland. Johannes Carpenter Episcopus Wigorn: erexit magnam turrim, id est, the Gate House, apud Herthisbiriom. Obijt ad Northwike episcopi, et sepultus apud Westbyry prope Brightstow, ubi fuit alter † fundator.

W I D D E V I L L E.

It is observable, that the family of King Edward's Queen is in the passage above stiled Widdeville: but in Hall's Chronicle it is ‡ Woodville: and in this he is followed by Grafton, Hollinshed, Speed, Baker, Rapin, and other English historians. But those, who have looked into manuscripts, find the name expressed Wideville, and Widdeville; and so it occurs in extracts made by Hearne. Thus in the annals of Wilhelm of Wyrcestre, we find among the persons knighted in the Tower by King Edward, upon his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, two who were her brothers: Richard Wydevile, and John Wydevile. See Liber Niger Scaccarij per T. Hearne, v. ii. p. 502. The author had just before

* See Godwin de Præful. and Le Neves Fasti. p. 298.

† Leland. Itin. v. viii. p. 99.

‡ It is found rendered both Woodville and Woodvile.
mentioned

mentioned the latter of these persons with this remarkable history annexed. Menſe Januarij Katerina duciſſa Norffolciæ, juven-
cula ætatis * fere ^{xx}_{iiii} annorum, maritata eſt
Johanni *Widevile*, fratri Reginae, ætatis xx
annorum. Maritagium diabolicum: vin-
dicta Bernardi inter eoſdem poſtea patuit.
ibid. He in another place takes notice of the
other brother.—Riccardum *Widevile*, mili-
tem, fratrem Reginae Elizabethæ. p. 517.
The king wanted to change him from a ſol-
dier to a churchman; and to appoint him
Prior to the convent of St. John of Jeruſa-
lem: but ſeems to have been defeated in his
purpoſe. The name is here rendered Wide-
vile; and ſo it occurs in a fragment at the
end of Sprot's Chronicle: concerning which
Mr. Hearne has the following note. De
Nuptijs Edwardi iv ac Elizabethæ *Widevile*
vide fragmentum illud vetuſtum ac egregium,
linguâ venaculâ conſcriptum, quod ad calcem
Thomæ Sprotti edidimus. The paſſage is as
follows. *On the xxvi day of May the queene
Elizabeth was crowned att Weſtmonſtre with
ſolemnite, where as were made Knigtes of the
Bath, as I knewe, the Lorde Duras, Sir Bir-
telot de Rybaire—Sir John Wydevile, brother
to the queene; alſo Anthony Wydevile, brother
to the queene.* p. 294. and p. 296. A perſon

* i. e. fere octoginta annorum. p. 501.

of this name is mentioned far prior : see Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 213. Upon which, the same writer has the following note. *Hinc liquet Widvillorum familiam admodum esse antiquam : immo longe vetustiore, quam voluerunt nonnulli.* He says, that Dugdale could not find any of the family higher than the 37th of Edward the Third. But it is certain, that one Hugo de Widevile is mentioned in Doomsday Book, as holding lands in Northamptonshire.

Now as all the printed histories of England exhibit the name of this Lady, and those of her family, in a different manner ; how came C. to vary from them, and to express it * *Widdevile*, instead of *Woodville*? The reason was, because he had not recourse to any printed history. There is reason to think, that he never read Stowe or Speed ; much less Hall or Grafton. It was from a Manuscript that he drew ; from one of that collection, to which we have been so much beholden.

Sir TIBBALD, or THEOBALD,
GORGES.

One of Master Canynge's, as well as Rowley's, most intimate friends, was Sir Theobald

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

Gorges; whose family seat was at Wraxhall in the neighbourhood of Bristol. A person of this name resided there in the time of Leland. *Wrekesbale is a 3 miles from Wike towards Brightestow. Here bath Sir Wylliam Gorge a meane old Maner place in a valley: and on eche side of it on the hilles is a fayre parke.* Itin. vol. vii. p. 98. That he was one of Canynge's friends, we have the following remarkable attestation. * *His connexion with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467: in which he gives to trustees in part of a benefaction of £. 500 to the church St. Mary Redcliffe certain jewells of Sir Theobald Gorges, Knight, which had been pawned to him for £. 160. He is stiled Sir † Thybotte in Rowley: and we have the following history concerning the family of this person, in Pryn. Brev. Parliamenti (Part i. p. 80.) where he*

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxv.

† We find the name expressed much in the same manner by other ancient writers; and particularly by Rob. of Gloucester.

Tho Tebaud the erchebissop suthth ded was.

..... p. 469. v. 7.

In another place speaking of King Henry the First keeping his court at Christmas, he says—

The kyng held at Bromtone ther after al in peys.

Hys feste at mydwynter myd Tebaud of Bloys.

p. 439. l. 7.

The same person is called Syr Tybaud, p. 436, l. 18.

is speaking of Sir Theobald Ruffel. *The said Theobald by his first wife Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Ralph de Gorges, a baron in parliament, temp. Edwardi Tertij, had three sons, Sir John; William, who died without issue; and Sir Theobald, who bore the name and arms of Gorges: viz. Lozingy, Or and Gules: from whom the Gorges of Wraxhall in Herefordshire are descended.* It is in the additions to Camden, expressed Wroxhall, and placed more truly in Somersetshire: unless there were two seats of this family of the same name in different counties. *Wroxhall (in some old writings called Wrokesbale) hath been for a long time the seat of the Gorges: of which ancient family Ralph de Gorges was in the 47th year of Henry the Third, made governour of Sherburn Castle; and a little after of the Castle of Exeter.* Britann. p. 85. We are farther informed concerning this family, * that Sir Edmund Gorges of Wraxhall, Somersetshire, Knight of the Bath, in the time of King Henry the Seventh, married Anne, daughter of John Duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth field. By her he had a son, Sir Edward, seated likewise at † Wraxhall; ancestor to Sir Edward Gorges, created by King James the First a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord of Dundalk.

* See Collins's peerage—Duke of Norfolk, p. 64.

† Camden's Britann. p. 1393.

SIR BALDWIN FULFORD.

This person is mentioned by Leland, under the title of *Fulford*, a *Knighte of Fulford in Devonshire*. Itin. v. iii. p. 4. He in another place expresses the name *Fulfirte*: and speaking of Lord Holland, who was Duke of Exeter, he says, of him, *He was Admirale of England*: and subjoins, *Sir Baldwine Fulfirte, a Knighte of the Sepulchre, was his under Admiralle*. Itin. v. vii. p. 8. This may account for a particular history given of him by Stowe; in which he is represented as undertaking a naval expedition. He styles him *Sir Baudwine*, and intimates, that he was a zealous Lancastrian; and active in the service of his Prince, King Henry the Sixth; but unsuccessful. *Sir Baudwine Fulford undertooke, on pain of losing his head, that he would destroy the Earle of Warwicke (at Calais) But when he hadde spent the king a thousand markes in money, he returned again.* Stowe's Chron. p. 406. b. l. 47. He was beheaded at Bristol in the year 1461, by order of the Earl of March, who at that time had just taken the title of King Edward the Fourth. This Prince was undoubtedly irritated by the loss of his father at the unfortunate battle of

9

Wakefield,

Wakefield, and by the cruelty shewn to many of his friends, who had been put to death that year after the second battle of Saint Albans. Indeed there was very little mercy shewn on either side: and before this execution at Bristol, the king, after the battle of Townton, had ordered Sir Thomas Fulford to be beheaded, who was probably of the same family as Sir Baldwin. He suffered with many more of the Lancastrian party at * Hexham in Northumberland. Concerning the event at Bristol, upon which the poem of Rowley is founded, we have the following evidences afforded us by the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt. † Sir Baldwin Fulford *was attainted with many others, in the general act of attainder, 1 Edw. IV. but he seems to have been executed under a special commission for the trial of treasons, &c. within the town of Bristol. The fragment of the old Chronicle published by Hearne at the end of Sprotti Chronica. p. 289. says only, item, the same yere (1 Edw. IV.) was taken Sir Baldewine Fulford, and beheaded at Bristow. But the matter is more fully stated in the act, which passed in 7 Edw. IV. for the restitution in blood and estate of Thomas Fulford, Knight, eldest son of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford in the county of Devonshire,*

* Stow. p. 416. He is mentioned by W. of Wyrcestre: See Liber Niger Scaccarij. by Hearne, v. ii. p. 491.

† Introductory account to Rowley's Poems, p. xviii.

Knight. Rot. Parl. 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. In the poem it is said, that at the time of this event William Canynge was Mayor. And agreeably to this, in the act referred to above, we find, that he was so: for in the preamble of this act it is mentioned, that Sir Baldwin was upon the 5th of September, 1461, *at-
teynt of dyvers tresons by him doon ayenst the
king:* and among the persons, who sat as judges upon the occasion *at Bristowe, in the shire of
Bristowe,* were—Henry Erle of Essex, William Hastings of Hastings, Knt. Richard Chock, * *William Canyng, Maire.* And in respect to King Edward's being at Bristol when this happened, Mr. Tyrwhitt very judiciously observes, that * *if the commission sat
soon after the 5th of September, as is most pro-
bable, King Edward might very possibly be at
Bristol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution.
For between his coronation and the parliament,
which met in November, he made a progress (as
the continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.)
by the south coast into the west, and was, among
other places, at Bristol.* As to his taking a view of the whole process, as described in the poem, we have so far evidence, as to make it highly probable: for which we are again indebted to the researches of Mr. Tyrwhitt: whose words I will again take the liberty to

* Introduct. to Rowley's Poems, p. xix.

quote,

quote. *Indeed there is a circumstance, which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a spectator of the execution from the Minster window, as described in the poem. In an old accompt of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then the Minster, from xx March in the 1 Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next ensuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcot from the original book.*

*Item. for washyng the church payven }
ageyns Kynge Edward IV. is } iiij d. ob.
comynge*

Though many of the circumstances in this poem are in their nature too inconsiderable to be generally recorded; yet we find, that there are strong evidences in their favour. In the first place it seems pretty plain that Sir Baldwin mentioned by the poet, was Sir Baldwin of Fulford in Devonshire: and farther that he had been a strong advocate for the Lancastrian cause, as represented by Rowley: and was executed at Bristol for his allegiance to King Henry. It is likewise manifest, that William Canynge was undoubtedly at that time Mayor: and that about the same time King Edward had made a progress in the west; and at last came to Bristol, agreeably to the tenor of the poem. Lastly, it is equally certain, that the Minster was prepared for his reception; from whence, according to

the poet, he was a spectator of the tragedy. The history of the person, concerning whom we have been treating, is rather of a private nature, and the distance of time considerable: yet we find a wonderful coincidence of circumstances in support of the poet's veracity.

ROBERT CONSUL.

Rowley says, concerning himself, that as he grew old, he was liable to infirmities: and he adds,—* *After this mischaunce I lived in a house by the Tower, which had not been repayred, since Robert Consul of Gloucester repayred the castle, and wall. Here I lived warm.*—Some marks it cost me to put in repayr my new house. Of the person, who is mentioned in this detail, as having put the castle in repair, we have the following account in Leland. † *Robertus Consul, Lorde of Brightstowe castle, and founder of St. James priorie in the north suburbe of Brightstow.*—King Stephen toke the town of Brightstow by force from Robert Consul. Itin. vol. vii. p. 88. Again: *Robert Consul Cownte of Glocestershire, buried in the Quiere (in the church of St. James) in the myddle of it in a sepulchre of gray marble set*

* Rowley's Memoirs: see Miscell. in prose and verse by T. C. p. 128.

† Vol. vii, p. 85. See also vol. vi. p. 85.

up upon six pillars of a smaull bethe. In his tumb was found a writynge in parchemente concernynge the tyme of his deathe, and what he was. A brewer in Brightstow hath this writ- ing. He is also mentioned by * Matthew Paris ; and by † Henry of Huntingdon. Were it not for these fortunate attestations, the account of a person named Consul in Rowley, would have been looked upon as a fiction. By other historians he is generally stiled Robertus Comes Glocestriensis ; and Regis Henrici Nothus ‡. The account given by Rowley is rendered very plain from the evidence of these historians.

ROWLEY'S TOWER.

We are further informed by Rowley, that as he grew old, he became very infirm ; and upon that account removed from the place, where he had for some time resided, to an house adjoining to one of the towers near the castle wall. This tower (as I understand it)

* Fratrem Roberti Consulis. Matt. Paris, p. 18. l. 41 ; also p. 76. l. 16.

† P. 392, 3. He speaks of the title as not very uncommon : and mentions both *Viri Consules*, et *Consulares*. See Knighton. p. 2386. l. 43.

‡ Johan Prior de Hagulstادت. p. 266. l. 29. Chron. Gervasij. p. 1345. l. 60. Nothus. Johan Bromton. p. 1028. l. 14.

had not been repaired, since the time that Earl Robert, surnamed Consul, had repaired both the wall and the castle. For he had in the time of King Stephen invited the Empress Maud into England; and accordingly had taken up arms in favour of Henry the Second, his Nephew: on which account he fortified Bristol. But the castle was taken by King Stephen: and as castles of this sort seemed only to countenance disloyalty, and harbour rebels, they were to a great number in the next reign demolished: and those, which remained, were not kept up; but for the most part by length of time fell to ruin. Hence it is said by Rowley, and, I make no doubt, very truly, that the tower next to his house had not been repaired from the time of Robert Earl of Gloucester: and he intimates the same of the town wall and castle: which interval amounts to near three hundred and thirty years. There are castles, and remains of castles, which have been neglected, and in a state of ruin, from that time to the present; which amounts to twice that number of years. We have the following account in Leland, both of the castle and its towers, as they appeared in his time. *In the castle be two courtes. In the utter courte, as in the northe weste parte of it, is a greate dungeon tower, &c. There be many towres yet standynge in bothe the courtes, but all tendithe to ruine.* Itin. v. vii.

p. 84. It may not be improper to insert the history of Earl Robert of Gloucester at large, as we find it in another part of this Writer's Itinerary: especially as it contains very material evidence, in favour of Rowley, concerning the repairing of the castle of Bristol by this person. * Mabilia primogenita (Filia Roberti Haymonis) nupsit Roberto, Filio Notho Henrici Primi, quem Pater Rex Henricus integro honore de Glocestre insignivit.

Hic Robertus Nothus ædificavit Prioratum i Jacobi Bristollia; et membrum fecit Monasterio de Theokesbyri.

Robertus Nothus solebat singulis solennibus diebus habere secum Abbatem de Theokesbyricum 12 monachis Bristollia.

Hic Robertus *construxit Castrum de Bristolle*, et dedit decimum quemque lapidem Castri ad fabricam Capellæ S. Mariæ juxta Monasterium i Jacob Bristollia.

Robertus obiit prid. Cal. Novemb. sub a°. D. 1140. a°. Stephani 12. Sepultus in choro Monasterij S. Jacobi Bristollia. Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Leland had before given attestation to his being called Robert *Consul*: as he does here to his building, or rather rebuilding, of the castle. Concerning his wife's father, Robert Fitz Haym, I have spoken before in the chapter concerning Bristol, p. 201.

* Itin. vol. vi, p. 74.

G A U N T S.

The author having spoken of that noble fabric at Redcliff, which he stiles *Our Ladies Chyrche*, speaks of the great expence, with which it was erected; and how few were capable of engaging in such a purpose. Upon this *Truth*, which he has introduced as a person, gives him this excellent piece of advice.

As thou hast got, give almes-dedes soe :

Canynge and Gaunts culde doe ne moe. p. 276.

The greatest benefactors to Bristol were people of these names. Of the former was the person, who by means of Rowley has been brought forth into the knowledge of the world, after a state of long obscurity. Of the latter were more than one, who are taken notice of by Leland, where he is giving an account of the place at Bristol denominated from them. * *One Henry Gaunt, a knight, sometime dwelling not far from Brandon hill, erected a college of Priests withe a mastar on the grene by St. Augustines: and sone after he chaunged the first foundation into a certeyne kinde of religion; and was governowr of the*

* Vol. vii. p. 85.

howse hymselfe, and lyethe buried in the vesterie undar a flat stone. This had at the desolucion of the howse 300 marks of land, by the year. — This Henry had a brother cawly'd Ser Mawryce Gaunt. He was foundar of the Blake Friers in Bristow, Itin. v. vii. p. 86. — The Blake Friers stode a litte higher than the Gray on Frome, in the right ripe of it. Ser Mawrice Gaunt, elder brother to Ser Henry Gaunt, foundar of the Gaunts, was foundar of * this. Ibid. What is here stiled the Gaunts, was the Collegiate Church, and the buildings belonging to it: so denominated from the founder. Camden takes notice of its being erected by Sir Henry Gaunt: and farther tells us, that quitting the world he did here dedicate himself to the service of God, p. 95. Persons of this name are mentioned by several writers. Matthew Paris takes notice of a Maurice † Gaunt, who joined the Barons at Stamford, in the year 1215: and was afterwards together with them excommunicated by the ‡ Pope. He says, that the first of the family came over with the Conqueror; and for his services had a portion of the New-

* Bristolij Ecclesia Collegiata, nunc Hospitale. Fundator prioris Henricus Gaunt Miles: posterioris Thomas Carre civis opulentus. H. Orphani. Nich. Harpsfeld. Hist. Eccles. Ang. p. 772.

† P. 254. l. 8.

‡ P. 277. l. 51.

Forest given him as a * reward : which William Rufus, when he occupied all that part of the country, purchased of him ; or else made an exchange. *Empta igitur quædam terra, vel commutata, a quodam Nobili, M. de Gaunt, qui cum Patre suo venerat in Angliam ad conquæstum, et illam acceperat in forte retributionis, &c. p. 572. l. 5.*

F I T Z H A R D I N G.

The poet speaking of the Worthies of Bristol, mentions

Fitz Hardyng, Bithrickus and twentie moe.

p. 280. v. 35.

The father of this person, though by birth a Dane, was in the service of William of Normandy, and fought on his side at the battle of Hastings. On this account he was rewarded with large demesnes in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset, and resided at Bristol. He had several sons, one of which was Robert, the same, who for his benefactions is alluded to by Rowley. He was deeply engaged on the side of the Empress Matilda,

* This was probably Gilbert de Gaunt, who is mentioned by Simeon Dunelmensis, as employed in the north by William the Conqueror. *De Gestis Reg. Anglor. p. 198. l. 66.*

and

and of her son Henry the Second; during their wars with Stephen of Blois: and for his services had the lordship of Berkeley bestowed upon him; of which Roger of Berkeley had been deprived. He resided much at Bristol; and is said to have there entertained * Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, in Ireland, when he came over to solicit the assistance of King Henry. He was noted for works of piety: and in the year 1148, he laid the foundation of the Augustine Monastery at Bristol. Of this we have an account in Robert of Gloucester, who stiles him a burges of Bristol.

† A bourgeois of Bristowe Roberd Harding
Vor gret trefour, and richeffe so wel was mid the king.
That he zef him and his eirs the noble baronie
That so rich is of Berkele mid al the seignorie.
And thulke Roberd Harding arerde suchthe y wis
The Abbeye at Bristowe, that of Seint Austyn is.

* Sir James Ware's Hist. of Ireland, p. 3.

† P. 479. l. 7. It has been objected to Rowley's Poems, that oftentimes for several lines together, if you change the manner of spelling, the language becomes modern. The same may be observed in the lines above quoted, though more ancient than Rowley by two centuries.

A burges of Bristol, Robert Harding,
For great treasure and riches so well was with the king.
That he gave him and his heirs the noble barony,
That so rich is of Berkeley, with all the seignory, &c.
From hence it appears, that this objection is of little weight.

The

The foundation of this monastery is taken notice of by * Leland. An°. D. 1148. 3. Idus. Apr. die videlicet Paschæ, fundatio Monasterij S. Augustini Bristol, et congregatio fratrum ejusdem per Dn̄m. Robertum Filium Hardingi prædicti. He had just before given an account of his father. Hardingus ex Regiâ profapiâ regni Daciæ oriundus fuit in tempore Gul. Conquestoris, & Bristoliam inhabitavit a°. Dn̄i. 1069 : postea Dñs de Berkeley. We are informed by † Camden, that of the ancient and original building, belonging to the monastery above-mentioned, a great deal in his time had been pulled down. But the principal gate remained, which he says, was of curious workmanship. There was an inscription upon it, which is to be found both in him, and in Leland. — Rex Henricus Secundus, et Dominus Robertus Filius Hardingi, Filij Regis Daciæ, hujus Monasterij primi Fundatores. Itin. v. vii. p. 85. This Robert Fitz Harding died in the year 1170, and together with his wife Eva was buried in the monastery, which he had founded, and of which before his death he became a canon. Leland takes notice of this circumstance.—An°. D. 1170. die S. Agathiæ Virginis obiit Ds. Robertus

* Itin. vol. vi. p. 43.

† P. 96, 7.

Filius Harding, Miles et Canonicus, ac fundator Monaster. S. Augustini Bristollia. Itin. vol. vi. p. 43. The abby in the time of King Henry the Eighth was changed to an Episcopal See, and endowed with six prebends. The ancient church is now the cathedral. Robert Fitz Harding, of whom we have been speaking, had several sons: one of which, named after him Robert, married into the family of the * Gaunts, of whom we have treated before: and his posterity was called by that name. They were great benefactors to Bristol. Maurice the eldest son, married into the family of the Lords of † Berkeley: and at last obtained that Lordship; and adopted the name. From this person the family of the Berkeleys is said to be derived; for which, among other authorities, we have that of Leland. ‡ *The first nobilitating of the Berkeleis of Heron was about the time of Henry the Firste or Secunde. And then bare they not the name of Berkeley but Fitz-Harding, whereof one named Robert was a Noble-man. And in processe the Fitz-Hardinges married with the heyres generales of Barkeley of Douresley; and so the name of Barkeleys was taken of them and continued.*

* See Dugdale's Baronage.—Berkeley.

† See Collins's Peerage. vol. iv. p. 4.

‡ Vol. vi. p. 49.

B I T H R I C K U S.

There is scarcely any history referred to in the poems, about which we are engaged, so obscure as that of the person above. No mention, as far as I can find, is made of him by any of our English historians. What can be obtained, is principally from those scantlings of intelligence, which have been transmitted to us through the diligence of Leland, and some other antiquaries, for which we are indebted to them greatly. The name itself is of great antiquity, and occurs more than once in the Saxon Chronicle. It is expressed Brictric, Bithric, Bithricus: but the name according to the true Saxon orthography, seems to have been Brihtric. Our writers formerly were not very uniform in the recording of names: so far from it, that we find the same name varied by an author within the compass of a few lines. One person so called was a west Saxon king, who married the daughter of Offa the Mercian: he reigned sixteen years, and anno 800 was buried at * Wareham. There was another, the brother of Edric, who held Mercia under † Ca-

* Saxon Chron. p. 63. l. 24. † Ibid. p. 137. l. 13.

nute the Great: but for his repeated treachery was by order of that prince slain. There was another, a son of Ælfget, an * Earl of Devonshire. These are expressed † Brihtric; from whence we may learn the true Saxon appellation of the person mentioned in the poems.

Leland in his Itinerary has transmitted a curious tract taken from the Archives of Tewkesbury Abby. *Ex libello de Antiquitate Theokesberienfis Monasterij.* In this the benefactors and patrons of that monastery are enumerated: and after a series of many of higher antiquity, the writer comes down to Brictricus, the son of Algar, who is the person spoken of by the poet. He together with his father had been a great friend to the monastery of Cranburne in the same county. ‡ Algaro successit Brictricus; Hij ampliaverunt Monasterium de Croneburne. We may from hence perceive, that he was a Saxon; and probably a descendant of Brihtric the king.

* Saxon Chron. p. 151. l. 7.

† The name however is at times varied. The brother of Edric, mentioned above, is expressed Brichtric by Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 118. l. 28. Brithric by John Bromton, p. 776. l. 60. and Brictric and Brictricus by Radulf de Diceto. p. 445. l. 10. Roger Hoveden, p. 430. l. 37. We must not therefore wonder, if Brihtric of Bristol had his name varied in the same manner.

‡ Leland. vol. vi. p. 72, 73.

who is also mentioned as a patron of Tewkesbury, and is said to have been buried * there. By this must be meant that his body had been translated; for he is mentioned in the † Saxon Chronicle above quoted, to have been buried at Wareham. The last of this name, who was the son of Algar, lived at the time of the Conquest. He was the very person, whose lands were mortgaged to Harding, the Dane, as has been mentioned before. The history of this person is very extraordinary; and I believe only to be obtained from what is left us of the ancient Tewkesbury manuscript. It is manifest that he was a man of great consequence, Earl of Gloucester: and that among other places he held his residence at Bristol. He was sent upon an embassy to Normandy; and as we may infer in the time of Edward the Confessor. Here he saw the Lady Matilda, daughter of Baldwin Earl of Flanders; who conceived a great esteem for him, and made him a tender of her love. But he rejected her offers, which in the end proved the cause of his ruin. She was soon afterwards married to a person of more consequence, the Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England: and ever retained a bitter resentment for the slight, which she had suffered. ‡ Brictricus, Imbassiator in Nor-

* Leland. vol. vi. p. 72.

† P. 63.

‡ Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

manniâ refutavit nuptias Matildis, postea Uxoris Gul. Conquestoris. This writer observes, that William afterwards got possession of England.—* Anno D. 1066, Gulielmus Dux Normann. acquisivit Angliam. Upon this the Queen seems to have taken the first opportunity of prosecuting her revenge; and immediately sued to the King to have Brihtric put into her hands: which request was granted. She accordingly got him seized in one of his lordships, where he happened at that time to be resident; and sent him close prisoner to Winchester; in which confinement after some time he died. † Brictricus, Dn^r. Gloustrizæ captus in manerio suo de Hanleiâ, et Wintoniam ductus; ubi sine liberis obiit. Hanley is in Worcestershire, where there was not only a manor, but a castle; both of which, as we learn from ‡ Camden, belonged to the Earldom of Gloucester. Upon his death, the Queen took this lordship to herself. § Matildis Regina honorem Glocestriæ mortuo Brictrico cepit. When the Queen died it was seized upon by the King. There is another part of Leland, where this history is given; and probably from different authority: but attended with some mistakes, which may be rectified by that

* Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73. † Ibid.

‡ Britann. p. 626. § Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

which has preceded. He had just mentioned Ælwerd, Earl of Gloucester, the reputed founder of Cranebourne Priory; and he then adds,—* *This Ælwerdus had a sunne callid Briçtrice, Erle of Gloceter aboute the tyme of the cumming of Duke Wylliam of Normandie ynto England. Matildis wife to Wylliam Conqueror askid Biçtrice yn giste of her husband: and, having hym, put hym yn the castelle of Hanley beside Saresbyri, and ther he dyed. Sum say, that Matildis wold have had hym afore Duke William to her husband; but (he) refusing it had after hard favor at her bandes.* There are several mistakes here: he was not confined in the castle of Hanley: nor was that castle near Salisbury. The place of his confinement was at Winchester, where he † died; as has been shewn before. The author subjoins—*The King gave the præferment of the Counte of Gloucester onto his wif Matilde. After it it came to Robert Fitz-Haymo of the blode of Duke Rollo, nephew onto King William Conqueror.* This happened in the time of William Rufus, as I have before mentioned. Gu-

* Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 85.

† Here Brihtric is called Briçtrice and Biçtrice by the same writer, within the compass of four or five lines: and the Queen Matilda is rendered in the same page, and nearly in the same space Matilde and Matildis. Add to this, instead of Algar his father is called Ælward: which person was his grandfather. See Leland, vol. vi. p. 72.

lielmus Rufus processu temporis dedit honorem Glocestriæ Robeto Filio Haymonis, cum omni libertate, quâ eam tenuit Brietricus. Leland's Itin. v. vi. p. 73. With the Earldom of Gloucester, he had the lordship of Bristol. From him by his daughter Mabile it came to Robert Consul, and others of that family, the great benefactors of that place.

And Brystow thour hys wyfe was also hys.

Rob. of Gloucest. p. 433.

As the Conquerour first gave the lordships of Brihtric to his Queen, we find in consequence of it, that some part of his estates was once mortgaged to Harding the Dane: for which we have the authority of Domesday Book. It is * there said, that Harding held Whitenhort in Com. Glouc. of Earl Brietric in mortgage.

As Brihtric was a person of so great power and consequence, we may suppose, that he was not an idle spectator of the troubles brought upon his country, when it was invaded by the Normans; but that he took part with Harold, to oppose the common enemy. In short such an eminent person could not fail of being present at the battle of Hastings. I do not know of any history to authenticate this: but, what is extraordinary, he is thus represented in the poem con-

* Domesday Book. Gloucester.

cerning that battle. And what is still more remarkable, he is introduced at the head of the very people from Bristol.

Bythric and Alfwold hedde the Bristowe band.

p. 243. v. 116.

We find here, as we have in many passages before, a wonderful coincidence of circumstance, in confirmation of the history afforded us by the poet.

FESCAMP, or FESCHAMP.

In the Memoirs of Sir William* Canninge, Rowley informs us, that he translated the Battle of Hastings from a Saxon Mss. which he had purchased. That one copy of it he left with Master Pelham of Ashley; who was to have given him a compensation for his trouble. But upon his making him a visit on that account afterwards, he was greatly disappointed; and could obtain neither money nor copy. And the reason was this; as he informs us himself:—*I did goe to Ashley to master Pelham, &c.—but his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps, of whom some things are said, he told me, he had burnt it; and would*

* See Miscell. in prose and verse, by T. Chatterton. London 1778. p. 127.

have me burnt too, if I did not avaunt. During this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn, to speak by a figure, would have oversounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe. I was fain content to gett away in a safe skinn. The circumstances alluded to, which gave this great offence, are contained in the following lines.

Nexste Fescampe felle, O Chreiste, how harde his fate,
To die the leckedst knyghte of all the thronge!
His sprite was made of malice deslavate,
Ne shoulde find a place in anie songe, &c.

P. 254. v. 341.

This was, what aggrieved the Lady so sorely : who, it seems, could not bear the disgrace, which was brought upon her family.

If C. were the author of this poem, I cannot conceive, how he could arrive at this name : nor what could induce him to annex this piece of history to it. I know, it has been said, that he might easily have access to the books, which contain Battle roll ; and from thence borrow this name with many others that he has introduced. But what reason is there to think, he had ever heard of Battle roll ; or that he was the least conversant in the books in which it is contained ? Besides, the name in that list, as we find it in Hollinshed, is Flischampe : and if that be not the name, it is not to be found there at all. If C. had access to this list, how came

ne not to copy the name as he found it? By some it is expressed Feskamp; particularly in the list of Grafton: and that of Wilhelm de Worcestre by Hearne. The true history of it is this. The names of the nobility and gentry, who attended William the Conquerour, were for the most part taken from the places of their residence in Normandy. Such were Saccheville, Lungvile, Bernvile, Greenvile; Lungchampe, Beauchampe; and among others, Felchamp. It is the name of a small town, not a great way from Dieppe; but still nearer to Havre and Harfleur. I cannot be induced to believe, that C. was apprised of this, for his knowledge in geography will be found to be very limited; of which I shall afford good proof. The true name was certainly Fescampe, or Feschampe.

As to the character given to this unfortunate knight in the poem, it was undoubtedly so exhibited in the original, which Rowley copied: and the account of the lady's resentment upon this score, with all its consequences, is too artless, and too well connected to have been a forgery. The only historian, who like Rowley has transmitted this name truly, is Matthew Paris. He speaks of one of the family, who was made Prior of Wymondham, or Wyndham, in Norfolk. But he, like his ancestor, was found deficient,

as

as we learn from this writer. * *Loco autem Radulphi de Witeby, Prioris de Wymondham, Gulielmum de Feschamp, virum minus quam expediret discretum, subrogavit Abbas.* In consequence of his inability, he was soon turned out. I mentioned above the name being by † Rowley and Matt. Paris transmitted *truly*: My reason is, because it agrees with the name of the place in Normandy, from whence it was taken; which is a sure test.

However, it is certain, that though some of this name may have behaved ill, yet it was a respectable family: one of which, called Remigius, was in the reign of Rufus, Bishop of Dorchester: but finding that the place was not of sufficient note, being greatly fallen to decay, he had the interest to have the See removed to Lincoln. He is spoken of as a person of a noble and liberal mind by William of ‡ Malmſbury, and others. One instance of his munificence appears in his building at his own cost the Cathedral of his new See. He was opposed in the prosecution of this work by Thomas the Archbishop of

* *Vitæ Sancti Albani Abbatum.* p. 121.

† By Rowley it is expressed *Fescampe*: by Matthew Paris *Feschamp*: the difference is of little consequence.

‡ See Will. Malmſburiensis *de Pontificibus.* p. 290. Lambarde's *Typ. and Hist. Dict.* p. 91, and 182.

* York : but we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, that he did not regard his obstructions. † Remigius vero nihil ducens impetitionem ejus non segniter opus inceptum peregit : peractumque Clericis doctrinâ et moribus approbatissimis decoravit. Erat siquidem staturâ parvus, sed corde magnus : colore fuscus, sed operibus venustus. He lived to see the completion of this great work : but died in 1092, two days before the dedication. Le Neve mentions him, and expresses his name truly ‡ Feschamp.

N I G E L or N Y G E L L E.

The poet in his second Eclogue introduces a person, whose father is gone with King Richard Coeur de Lion, in his war to the Holy-Land : and for whose safety he offers up his prayers.

Sprytes of the bleste, the pious Nygelle sed
Poure oute yer plesaunce onn mie fadres hedde. p. 6.

I take this poem to be of great antiquity ; nearly as old as the times, to which it refers :

* Rerum Ang. Script. post Bedam. p. 290. See Henry Knyghton de Event. Ang. 2364.

† Rerum Ang. Script. post Bedam. p. 371. The like is mentioned in Chronicle of John Bromton. p. 983.

‡ Fasti. p. 148.

though

though it seems to have suffered some alteration by the principal person, through whose hands we have received it. We may suppose the Nygelle, who is made the Speaker, from his being stiled the pious, to have been some saint-like personage: and probably an Abbot or Prior of a monastery, founded by one of his family. In this Eclogue he anticipates all that he wishes; and gives a curious and prophetic description of the landing of the Christian army in Palestine; and of the successes in consequence of it. By the sequel we find, that his father was one of those, who had embarked in this expedition with King Richard: and whom he has the satisfaction to see upon his return landing from his ship; before he had well finished the invocation made for his safety.

The name seems to have been very ancient; and came first to England with the Conquerour. It appears to have been originally from Coutances in Normandy; as we may infer from William Gemeticensis, p. 634. l. 33. One of this name was at the Holy War, as we may learn from John Bromton, p. 1191: who mentions Nigel de Mowbray among those, who lost their lives during the siege of Acra: A. D. 1191. It may not be easy to determine precisely concerning the person referred to by the poet;

and whom he makes the speaker in the poems. Yet so much light may possibly be obtained, as to shew some propriety in the invocation; and that a real fact was alluded to.

I have mentioned, that this person from his title of *pious*, seems to have belonged to some religious house: which might have been founded by one of this name. For we read of people denominated, Nigel and Fitz-Nigel, who were remarkable for their devotion; and were the founders of several churches, and convents. We find by Harpsfield, that a monastery existed at Gresley in Derbyshire, founded by one of this name. *Gresleyæ Templum Sancti Georgij fundavit Gulielmus de Lyons, dictus Fitz-Nigell, Normannus, p. 751.* Another church and convent is mentioned by the same writer in Cheshire at Norton. *Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Fitz-Nigel, p. 751.* A third occurs near Oxford. *Oxonij Templum Sanctæ Mariæ Osneyensis fundavit Robertus filius Nigelli, fratris Roberti D'Oiley Normanni. A.D. 1129. Monachi Nigri Canones. Harpsfield, p. 768.* This place is spoken of at large by Lambarde; who says, that the convent was erected at the persuasion of Edith, the wife of this Robert. And that she was led to it by the constant chattering of some Pies, whenever she took her walks

in

in the meads of Osney. This chattering of the birds was interpreted to her by a Canon of St. Frideswyde, as an admonition towards that pious purpose. * Typog. Hist. p. 260. This Robert, or at least a person of the same name, is mentioned by Leland as a benefactor to the monastery of Bethlesdene. Vol. vi. p. 42. A Nigel de Mowbray founded the Priory of Saint Mary Overies. And a person of the same name confirmed many lands to the Monks of Monkferby in Warwickshire; which had been given by Nigel his grandfather, and by other ancestors. Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 231. a. In the reign of Rufus there was a Nigel, Abbot of Lilleshull in agro Salopienfi. Dugd. vol. ii. p. 144. There were likewise bishops of this name: one of which is mentioned as presiding at Ely, in the year 1130. There was also a Nigel, a Monk of Canterbury, who lived in the time of Richard the First, and is taken notice of by T. Hearne in his notes to William of Newbury, p. 806. He mentions a letter of this person to William Bishop of Ely, in which he complained of some of the clergy being expelled from the churches of Canterbury and Winchester. The bishop to whom he wrote, was William Longchamp, whom we find to have been consecrated in

* See also Dugdale's Monast. vol. ii. p. 136.

the year 1189: which was the first of the above King Richard. The history of this Nigel agrees very well with the times alluded to in the poem: but whether he is the person there mentioned cannot be determined. Persons of this name occur in Doomsday Book, among those who held lands of the Conqueror. It does not seem to have been strictly an hereditary name: yet it ran in particular families,

CHRISTMAS GAMES.

The account given of these games, was composed by C.; and contains very little that is new or satisfactory. Yet he had a retrospect to the Mss. which he had read; and out of these produced, in an irregular manner, what little he had gained. One instance to this purpose we may perceive in the following account. * *A Register of the Nunnery of Keynsham relates, that William, earl of Gloucester, entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys, at his great manor of Keynsham.* This place had been a nunnery, and lay in ruins: but was rebuilt by the person above mentioned. To this Leland bears witness, who speaks of him by name. *Wil-*

* Miscell. in prose and verse by T. C. p. 131.

liam Erle of Gloceſtar, foundar of the Monastery of Cainesſham, gave the præfecture and Maſturſhip of the Schole in Brightſtow to Cainesſham, and tooke it from the Calenderies. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Of the hoſpitality of the family I have ſpoken before, in the account given of Robert, the father of this perſon. Robertus Nothus ſolebat ſingulis ſolennibus diebus habere ſecum Abbatem de Theokeſbyri cum 12 Monachis Briſtoliæ. *ib. vol. viii. p. 74.* This Abbey of Cainſham was changed at its reſtoration to an houſe of Black Fryars. Keynſhamiæ Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Dux Gloceſtriæ. M. Nigri Monachi. Harpsfeld, p. 772. Leland tells us, that Robert, the firſt Earl died,—*pridie Cal. Novembres ſub. aº. D. 1140, &c.* He then adds—Gulielmus ejus filius ſucceſſit. Duxit in uxorem Hawiſiam filiam Comitſ Leirceſtriæ, genuitque ex eâ Robertum, qui ante patrem obiit.

Sepultus fuit Robertus in Abbatiâ de Cainesſham, quam Gulielmus ejus Pater in filij ſui Roberti memoriam erexerat. *Itin. l. 6. p. 74.*

F O R T U N I E S.

That Chatterton had manuſcripts before him, from whence he extracted ſome of theſe
ſhort

short histories, I am persuaded, both from these histories being so remote, and difficult to be traced; and also from the terms, with which they are accompanied, being so very uncommon. An instance to this purpose we have in the passage above, about William Earl of Gloucester—*who entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys.* One would at first think that this was a mistake for *tilts* and *tournys*. But it is not so: for we find, that of old Tournaments were stiled *Fortunes*. Accordingly Matthew Paris, treating of the reign of Henry the Third, speaks of a solemn tilting, held by the Earl Mareschal Gilbert, near * Hertford, in which he lost his life: and he stiles it *fortunium*. Dum autem temporum volubilitas mundo diversis sic casibus alluderet, et illuderet, Comes Marescallus Gelebertus, cum quibusdam alijs nobilibus juxta Hertfordiam, quantum jacit Arcubalista, more militari, quoddam Hastiludium, quod vulgariter *fortunium*—appellatur, ad virium ceperat et exercuit experimenta. p. 565. l. 47. It occurs in another place, where the king is expostulating with the brother of the deceased. Et tu, Waltere,

* According to Robert of Gloucester, the Tournament was at Ware.

* At the tornment of Wareine Sir Gilebert the Marschal Defouled was thoru mesautre, &c. p. 529. l. 29.

qui me invito et prohibente, in contemptum meum, ipse torneamento interfuisti, et sophisticè illud *Fortunium* appellâsti, quâ ratione, quâ fronte, postulas hæreditatem? Ibid. p. 572. l. 47.—*Fortunium*: *Hastiludium*, torneamentum. Du Cange. The term seems to be peculiar to England: and even here by no means very common.

FARTHER OBSERVATIONS upon the Ordination of Master W. Canynge.

The account given of this event, and also of the cause by which it was brought about, is thus described in the * *Memoirs* by Rowley. *In the year Kyng Edward came to Bristow, master Cannings send for me to avoide a marrige which the Kyng was bent upon between him and a Ladie he neer had seen, of the familie of the † Widdeviles. The danger were nigh, unless avoided by one remedee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a sonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of Kynges in that case, and cannot be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instantly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend,*

* See *Miscell. in prose and verse, &c.*—by Thomas Chatterton, p. 125, 6.

† It is so expressed in the account given by Mr. Tyrwhitt in his *Preface to Rowley's Poems*, p. xxiii.

bishop of Worcester; and the fryday following was prepaired and ordaynd the nexte day, the daie of St. Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of our Ladie, to the astonishing of Kyng Edward, &c. I have mentioned the very curious evidence brought by Mr. Tyrwhitt from the Worcester * Register in confirmation of this history. By that we are informed, that Mr. Cannynge was ordained by Bishop Carpenter on the 19th of September, and received the higher orders afterwards. This is a strong attestation to the truth of Rowley, both in respect to the matter of fact, and the time of year, when it happened. The Bishop's Register says, that it was upon the 19th of September: and in the account given by Rowley, it is marked by the day of St. Matthew; which is precisely the same season of the year.

But the whole may be still proved to a greater degree of accuracy. In the account by Rowley we are only told, that Cannynge was examined upon a Friday, admitted upon a Saturday, and then did duty upon a Sunday. On the other hand, the Bishop's Register specifies the year, when he was admitted, to have been 1467; and the day of the month, *the 19th of September*. Here then is the test, by which the authenticity of our author is

* See Introduction to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

to be tried. If these evidences on each side do not correspond, the whole falls to the ground. Was therefore the 19th of September, in the year specified, a *Saturday*; and was the preceding day (the 18th) a *Friday*: and the subsequent in consequence of it a *Sunday*, as Rowley has taught us to suppose? Lastly, do we find at this season of the year the fast of St. Matthew? It may be proved, that every one of these circumstances is true: for by a retro-calculation it will appear, that the 19th of September was a *Saturday*; and the other days of the week precisely as represented: all which, in respect to the writer's veracity, is little short of demonstration.

I once thought, that there was a small mistake in the account above given, which had arisen from the words not being accurately transcribed: and could be rectified with great ease. We find, that the affair of Master Canynge was very pressing: and there was no time to be lost. The parties therefore, which were concerned, made use of the greatest expedition. According to the words of the transcript—*On the friday Canninge was prepared, and ordaynd the next day, the daie of ST. MATHEW; and on SUNDAY sung his first Mass.* But the next day to Friday, the 18th, was Saturday the 19th, which could not be the day of St. Matthew: for the day of that

Saint is the 20th of September; and marked in the Calendar D. And as the Sunday letter for the year 1467 was D, the day of St. Matthew, that is the vigil or fast, does not regularly come next to Friday; but must properly have fallen upon a Sunday. Hence it is plain, that Friday was the 18th, and Saturday the 19th of that month: which Saturday intervened between Friday, and the day of St. Matthew. There are three facts mentioned of Canynge; which took up the same number of days for their completion: his *preparation, admission*; and his *first performance* of service in the church, all which by the Register of Worcester are shewn to have been compleated at the time, and upon the very days, specified by the author. The only seeming defect was the placing of St. Matthew's day upon the 19th, or Saturday, instead of Sunday. But I was assured by a very learned friend, that every thing was right: for it was the constant usage of the church, when the festival happened upon a Monday, to keep the fast on the Saturday preceding, and not on the Sunday. And, I believe, in all Collegiate Churches and Colleges the custom is still adhered to.

This is a very extraordinary confirmation of the history: and the process, which was short in consequence of the exigency, may from hence be very satisfactorily made out.

Rowley

Rowley was about the middle of September sent to the Bishop at Westbury. His words are, Mr. Canynges *instauntly sent me*: and we may presume, that Canynge immediately followed, upon the Bishop being ready to admit him. The course of the transaction in all its circumstances was in the following order.

September 1467. Sunday Letter D.

E 14

F 15

G 16 On Wednesday, or

A 17 Thursday, Rowley sent to Bp. Carpenter,

B 18 Friday, Canynge goes over, & is prepared;

C 19 Saturday, the Fast of St. Matthew; he is ordained.

D 20 Sunday—He first performs duty.

E 21 Monday, the Feast of St. Matthew.

The words of Rowley are therefore in every respect true. *Mr. Cannings instauntly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, Bishop of Worcester; and the Friday following was prepared; and ordaynd the nexte day, the day of St. Matthew: and on Sunday, sung his first mass in the church of our Ladie.*

I have taken notice, that Canynge after all, was obliged to pay three thousand marks to obtain the king's forgiveness: a sum incredible, were it not for the evidence of William

of Worcestre. He mentions the fact at large : and shews from the immense trade and wealth of this person, that it was no more than might be expected from him. In short, though the histories be remote, of a private nature, and obscure, yet most of the circumstances mentioned by Rowley concerning his friend Canynge ; of his riches, magnificence and repute ; also of his brother and family ; of Bishop Carpenter, and his ordination under him, &c. &c. are verified by subsequent writers.

It is to be observed, that in the account above given by Rowley of his valuable friend ; he, who before was stiled simply Master William Canynge, is now distinguished by the title of Sir William. From hence some have been led to think, that he had been * knighted by King Edward. But the truth is, he had now been admitted into holy orders ; and was a priest : and it is upon this account, that the title is conferred. It was expressed both *Sir* and *Sire*, and we have the following curious history of it in Mr. Tyrwhitt's Glossary to his excellent Edition of Chaucer. *Sire : n. Fr. Sieur, Seigneur. A respectful title given formerly to men of various descriptions, as well as to knights. Sire Knight, 839.*

* See Miscell. in prose and verse by T. C. p. 118.

Sire Clerk, 842. *Sire Monk*, 3120.——It was so usually given to priests, that it has even crept into *Acts of Parliament*.—Hence a *Sir John* came to be a nickname for a Priest. See *Gloss.* vol. v. p. 192. Agreeably to this in these very poems, we read more than once of *Sir Roger the Parson*, p. 13. v. 17. and of a person stiled *Sir Priest*. To these might be added numberless instances from other writers; particularly the noted *Sir Hugh Evans* in *Shakespear*. I have before mentioned the attestation of *William de Worcestre*, concerning the history of this celebrated person *Canynge*. He there speaks of his death, which happened in the year 1474: and stiles him * *Dominus Willelmus Canynges*: which agrees with the title of *Sir* given in English. Had he spoken of him before his ordination in 1467, he would have only called him—*Magister*. There is a happy concurrence of circumstances in all these inquiries: and fresh light seems continually to arise in confirmation of the whole.

* P. 83.

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the
the eleventh is the fact that the
the twelfth is the fact that the
the thirteenth is the fact that the
the fourteenth is the fact that the
the fifteenth is the fact that the
the sixteenth is the fact that the
the seventeenth is the fact that the
the eighteenth is the fact that the
the nineteenth is the fact that the
the twentieth is the fact that the
the twenty-first is the fact that the
the twenty-second is the fact that the
the twenty-third is the fact that the
the twenty-fourth is the fact that the
the twenty-fifth is the fact that the
the twenty-sixth is the fact that the
the twenty-seventh is the fact that the
the twenty-eighth is the fact that the
the twenty-ninth is the fact that the
the thirtieth is the fact that the
the thirty-first is the fact that the
the thirty-second is the fact that the
the thirty-third is the fact that the
the thirty-fourth is the fact that the
the thirty-fifth is the fact that the
the thirty-sixth is the fact that the
the thirty-seventh is the fact that the
the thirty-eighth is the fact that the
the thirty-ninth is the fact that the
the fortieth is the fact that the
the forty-first is the fact that the
the forty-second is the fact that the
the forty-third is the fact that the
the forty-fourth is the fact that the
the forty-fifth is the fact that the
the forty-sixth is the fact that the
the forty-seventh is the fact that the
the forty-eighth is the fact that the
the forty-ninth is the fact that the
the fiftieth is the fact that the
the fifty-first is the fact that the
the fifty-second is the fact that the
the fifty-third is the fact that the
the fifty-fourth is the fact that the
the fifty-fifth is the fact that the
the fifty-sixth is the fact that the
the fifty-seventh is the fact that the
the fifty-eighth is the fact that the
the fifty-ninth is the fact that the
the sixtieth is the fact that the
the sixty-first is the fact that the
the sixty-second is the fact that the
the sixty-third is the fact that the
the sixty-fourth is the fact that the
the sixty-fifth is the fact that the
the sixty-sixth is the fact that the
the sixty-seventh is the fact that the
the sixty-eighth is the fact that the
the sixty-ninth is the fact that the
the seventieth is the fact that the
the seventy-first is the fact that the
the seventy-second is the fact that the
the seventy-third is the fact that the
the seventy-fourth is the fact that the
the seventy-fifth is the fact that the
the seventy-sixth is the fact that the
the seventy-seventh is the fact that the
the seventy-eighth is the fact that the
the seventy-ninth is the fact that the
the eightieth is the fact that the
the eighty-first is the fact that the
the eighty-second is the fact that the
the eighty-third is the fact that the
the eighty-fourth is the fact that the
the eighty-fifth is the fact that the
the eighty-sixth is the fact that the
the eighty-seventh is the fact that the
the eighty-eighth is the fact that the
the eighty-ninth is the fact that the
the ninetieth is the fact that the
the ninety-first is the fact that the
the ninety-second is the fact that the
the ninety-third is the fact that the
the ninety-fourth is the fact that the
the ninety-fifth is the fact that the
the ninety-sixth is the fact that the
the ninety-seventh is the fact that the
the ninety-eighth is the fact that the
the ninety-ninth is the fact that the
the hundredth is the fact that the

AUTHORITIES

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

Observations upon the Names in different Lists

The Sieur de Bonneboe

Names of Saxons

Bithric or Brietric

Alric and Algar

Eilward

Alfie

Alured

Alfwold

Goodrick

Toffelin

Mervyn

Herewarde

Bertram

Normanne

Manne

Tatwyne

Continuation.

AUTHOR.

A U T H O R I T I E S

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED BY THE POET IN THE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

THE names of the Normans, which occur in this poem, are in great measure found to correspond with the records of the times. Those, who are willing to believe, that the young man of Bristol was the author of these compositions, suppose, that he got his intelligence from the well-known Roll of Battle Abby. But that list will not suffice for one half of the persons mentioned: though their names may be in great measure ascertained from other authorities. There are several lists besides that of Battle: but they are so little obvious, that I can hardly think, that Chatterton was at all acquainted with them: though he is said to have had access to a *Circulating Library*. This must have been
but

but a poor help towards the obtaining of that knowledge, with which these poems abound. In respect to the lists spoken of, there are eight, of which I shall principally make use : and they all differ greatly from one another. In Holinshed we have two of them ; the Norman catalogue, taken from the Chronicles of William Tailleux ; and the Roll of Battle : and in Stow we meet with the same : yet I speak of them as different lists, because they are found very unlike upon comparing. Stow has likewise preserved another catalogue to the same purpose, for which, he says, he was indebted to Maister Thomas Scriven, Esquire. To these six is to be added a list preserved by John Bromton, and to be found in the collection stiled, *Scriptores Angliæ Decem.* p. 963. The names are classed in couplets according to their terminations, and made to rhyme. The last list is that of Wilhelmus Wyrcester ; to be found in Hearne's Edition of the *Liber Niger Scaccarij*, vol. ii. p. 522. The names are here too for the most part classed according to their terminations, but not in rhyme. Both Hollinshed and Stow have applied to the same source for intelligence : to the Chronicles of William, or Guiliam, Tailleux for the Norman Chronicle ; and to the Battle Roll for the other list. But they vary greatly both in respect to numbers and names. According

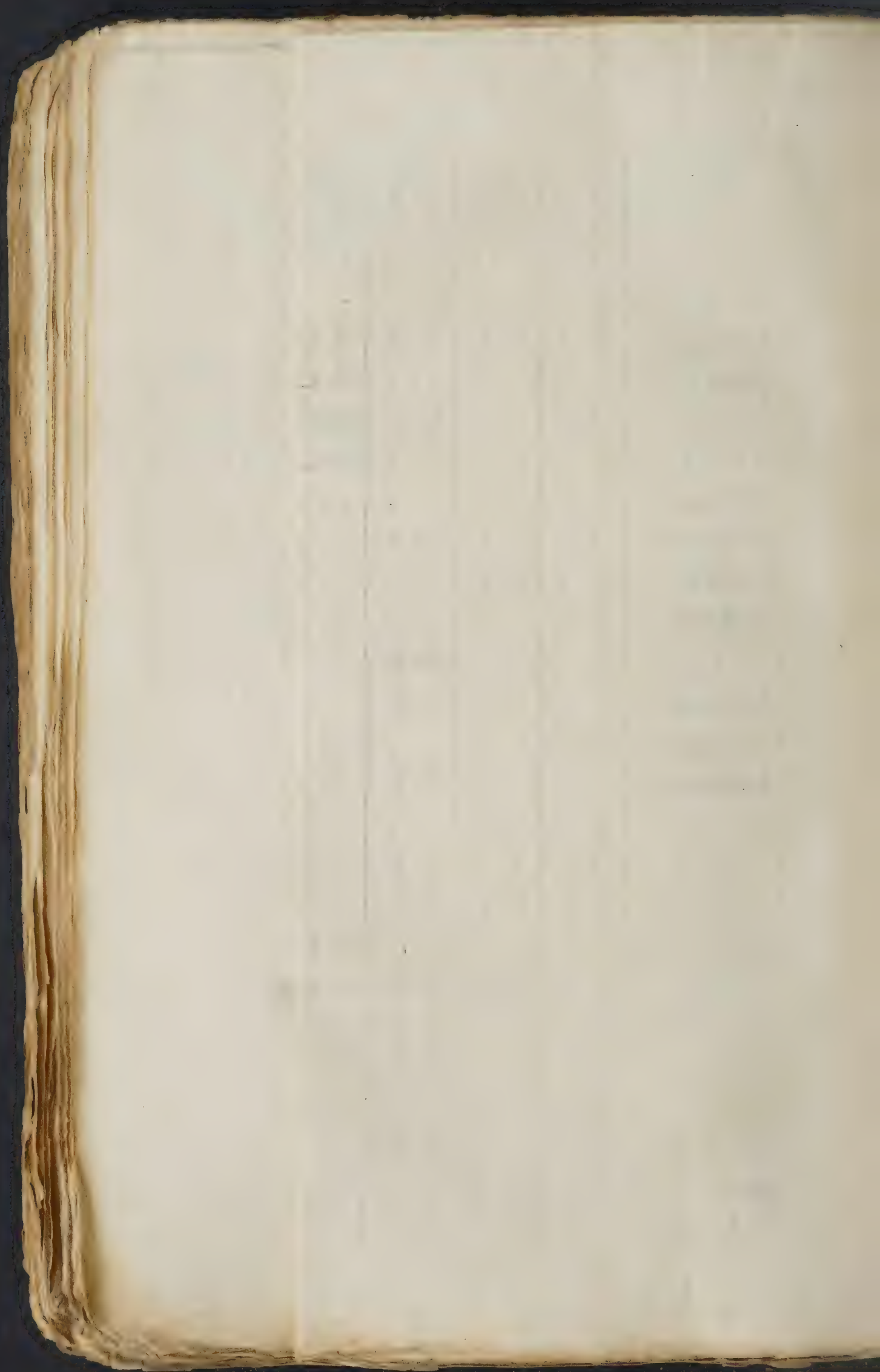
According to Holinshed, the former contains the names of 260 persons. The Battle list 644. According to Stow, the former has but 151 names; and the latter but 406. In Grafton the Roll of Battle amounts to 647. In the ancient catalogue from Master Thomas Scriven, there are only 375. The Chronicle of John Bromton affords only 240: that of Wilhelm of Wyrcester amount to 323. These all differ from one another: and have each some particular names, which are not preserved by the other writers. Hence, what is not to be found in seven lists, may often be obtained from the eighth. The names may be still farther authenticated from the Norman nobility, mentioned in the early reigns after the Conquest by Matthew Paris, and other writers. The histories also of many of the persons may by these helps be ascertained.

How much one catalogue varies from another, may in some degree be seen from the subsequent scheme: where all the Norman names, mentioned by the poet, are introduced in a column: and opposite are placed the several lists, in which they are to be found.

G. signifies

- G. signifies the Battle Roll by Grafton.
H. N. C. Holinshed's Norman Catalogue.
H. B. R. Holinshed's Battle Roll.
S. N. C. Stow's Norman Catalogue.
S. B. R. Stow's Battle Roll.
T. S. The List of Thomas Scriven.
I. B. The List of John Bromton.
W. W. The List of Wilhelm of Worcester.

	G.	H. N. C.	H. B. R.	S. N. C.	S. B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W.	
Anguillain	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.				
Aubene	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.			
D'Aubignie	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.					
Auffroi	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
De Beque	G.	- -	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.				
De Beere	- -	- -	- -	N. C.	B. R.				
Du Broque	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Broc.
Beaumonte	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.		
Bonoboe	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Bonnobault.
Du Burlie	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Bote Villain	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Boteville.
Claremond	- -	- -	B. R.						
Campygnon	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Campeny.
Chantillon	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	I. B.	- -	Chantelow.
Chatelet	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Chattelein.
Chivellois	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Shevile.
Destoutville	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	T. S.			
Sieur Doullie	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
Fescampe	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	Fliscamp and Flescamp.
Fitz du Gore	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	W. W.	G. Gower.
De Griel	G.	- -	B. R.						
Hubert	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Fitz Hugh	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Longville	G.	N. C.	- -	N. C.	B. R.	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Logeville.
Du Laque									



Bartrammel } Manne }	-	-	-	-	-	-	T. S.			
Du Moline	-	-	N. C.	-	-	N. C.	-	-	I. B.	
Norcei	G.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	Noreice, Norece.
Neville	-	-	-	B. R.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	I. B. W. W.
Nabour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I. B. Nebors.
Normanne										
Partais	-	-	N. C.	-	-	N. C.	-	-	-	Partenais, and Patais.
Pierce	-	-	-	-	-	-	T. S.	-	-	W. W.
Fitz Port	-	-	-	-	-	N. C.				
Pikenny	G.	-	-	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.	-	-	I. B.	
Du Roece	G.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W. Roes, Rose, Rous.
Sarnarville	-	-	N. C.	-	-	N. C.	-	-	-	Salnarville.
Sancelotte										
De Tracie	G.	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	-	-	T. S.	-	-	W. W.
Du Torcie	G.	N. C.								
Tankarville	G.	N. C.	-	-	N. C.					
Troy Villain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	perhaps Trevillian.
Viponte	-	-	N. C.	-	-	-	-	-	I. B.	
Du Valle	G.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	W. W. Surdeival for Sieur du Val.
Walleris	G.	-	-	-	-	N. C.				
Warren	G.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	
Romara	-	-	N. C.	-	-	N. C.				
Villain	G.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	B. R.	-	-	Vilan.



OBSERVATIONS upon the NAMES.

I have mentioned, that many of these names, introduced by the poet, are to be found in our English historians : particularly in Matthew Paris ; and in that collection, stiled *Historiæ Anglicæ Scriptores Antiqui*. Of these names the following are the most remarkable. Aubeney, Beer, Beaumont, Beke, Broque or Broc, Burlie, Botevilayne, Clermont, Greyle, Moleyns, Nebors, No-reice, Pikenny, D'Estoutville, Tracy, Tankerville, Warren.

But however they may be by these means authenticated, we may from this investigation, and from the disposition of the scheme above, perceive, that they lie scattered, and are not uniformly to be obtained from any writer : nor without long and laborious inquiry. And even when they are supposed to be found, they are not always expressed precisely in the same manner. Some of the names appear at first so strange, that were it not for the evidences above afforded, one would imagine, that they never existed ; but that they were formed at hazard to fill up the poem. Such are the *Sieur Doullie* and *Bartrammel Manne*, and the *Sieur de Bonneboe*. For some few

there seems to be no authority; such as the *Sieur de Laque*: unless we suppose this to be a mistake for *de Lacy*. A person of this name appears to have been of great eminence; and upon his settling in England, had large possessions given him by the Conquerour. In like manner the person called by the poet *Chivellois* is the same, who by William of Worcestre is stiled *Shevile*. And we may presume, that *Chantillon* is no other than the *Chantelow* of Battle Roll and Bromton. Hence we may perceive, that in some instances the names are more truly expressed by the poet, than by some of our historians. For the proper name of Normanne we have no authority in any list: I shall however bring sufficient evidence hereafter, that such a person existed; and that he came over with the Conquerour.

THE SIEUR DE BONNEBOE.

This person is said to have been slain by Egelrede in the Battle above mentioned: and the account given of him agrees well with the history of the times. We are informed, that in the reign of King Edward he had made a visit to that prince: whose court is known to have swarmed with foreigners. He
there

there at a Tournament won the heart of a Saxon lady, whom he married, and carried with him to Normandy: and by her he had two children. But being obliged to attend the Duke in his expedition against Harold, he had the misfortune to be slain in the battle. The poet says of Egelrede—

He couch'd hys launce, and ran wyth mickle myghte
Ageinſte the breſt of Sieur de Bonoboe.

p. 216. v. 135.

He dy'd and leſſed wyfe and chyldren tweine,
Whom he wyth cheryſhment did dearlie love;
In Englandes court in goode Kynge Edward's regne,
He wonne the tylt, and ware her crymſon glove, &c.

And thence unto the place, where he was borne
Together with hys welthe, and better wyfe,
To Normandie he dyd perdie returne,
In peace and quietneſſe to lead his lyfe,
And now wyth ſovrayn Wylliam he came,
To die in battel, &c. p. 217.

The name of this perſon does not occur in the liſts of Battle Roll; nor in that of John Bromton, but it is undoubtedly the ſame, which is mentioned in the Chronicles of Normandy, and expreſſed Le Seigneur Bonnebault. This Boneboe, or Bonnebault, was one of the principal perſons, who led the Archers of * Rueil and Bretviel, with thoſe from other places in Normandy: to whoſe

* Chron. of Normandy by Guillian Tayleur; quoted by Stow, p. 104.

skill and address the victory of Hastings was chiefly owing.

The names, of which we have been treating, were obvious to a person of the times, and ever ready to be produced, when the writer had occasion to mention them. But it is seen in respect to us, who live so long after the event, how scattered they lie, and how difficult to be obtained. The composition must therefore have been by an early hand. To think that the real author went, and gleaned for these evidences, is idle. Whoever goes so far for straw and stubble to make his bricks will never raise an edifice.

NAMES OF SAXONS.

Farther Observations concerning Brithric or Brictric.

If we meet with these difficulties in our researches concerning the Normans, there will be found still greater in respect to the Saxons; of whom no lists have been transmitted. The brothers of Harold, (Tosti, Gyrth, and Leofyne) are well known. They were too much interested in the revolution, which happened, not to be recorded. But of the other persons mentioned on the same side, there is hardly a trace left in the accounts

of those times: so that to many they may have appeared as imaginary characters, the work of poetical fancy. For it is not only difficult to get any insight into the general occurrences of their lives; but even to arrive at authorities for their names: as hardly any of them are to be found, where we might most naturally expect them. Yet such persons did really exist, as shall be abundantly shewn. They were of great rank and eminence in their time; and had large possessions; however silent historians may be concerning them. In short they were by no means imaginary personages, as has been, I believe, by many surmised.

It happens fortunately, that there are some evidences still remaining, though not very obvious, by which their history may be authenticated. These, to which I allude, may be found in Doomsday Book: where the identity of the persons spoken of, may with great probability be ascertained from the estates, which were forfeited at the Conquest.

* Brietric, of whom I have before made mention,

* This name is expressed Brietric, Brittrick, Bithric, and Brihtric. There was, as I have before mentioned, a king of the West Saxons so called, who married Edburga, the daughter of King Offa. His name is rendered by Robert of Brun, Brittrick: in the Saxon Chronicle Byrthric: and Brithrick by Speed, and se-

tion, is no where taken notice of by any regular historian. We casually learn from Leland, that he was the son of Algar. And he was also Earl of Gloucester, and Lord of Hanley: in consequence of which he held other lands in the county of Worcester; where that lordship was situated. This we may learn from the evidence of the Doomf-day Record.

* De eodem manerio tenuit Brietric, filius Algar, unam hidam ad Bifelege (in Com. Wircestre) &c.—modo est in manu Regis Willelmi.

De eodem manerio tenuit Brietric filius Algari unam hidam ad Burgelege, eodem modo, quo supradictam. Nunc est in manu Regis ibid.

We find that it is said of this person, *tenuit: he did once hold these lands*: because, at the time of this book being compiled, great

veral other writers. In the prose additions to the Mss. of Robert of Gloucester, it is expressed Brightric. See Chron. of P. Langtoft by Rob. of Brun. p. 12. b. notes. Hence Brietric, Bithric, Brihtric, &c. are undoubtedly the name of the same person varied.

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccles. Wigorn. a T. Hearne, p. 491. I obtained this intelligence from the book referred to. But I have since had an opportunity of consulting the original, by the means of my most intelligent and excellent friend George Rose, Esquire, Keeper of the Records in the Receipt of Exchequer, &c.: to whose furtherance and friendship I am greatly indebted.

part of his lands had been alienated; and were in the possession of other people. The estates above are said to be, in manu Regis: also in manu Regis Willelmi, *in the hands of William the King*. The term in general is *tenet* in the present tense. Whenever it is the past, it relates to forfeited lands: and the persons may be known to have been Saxons by their names.

How powerful Brictric must have been, may be known from the other estates, of which he was deprived. I have before taken notice of the Queen's resentment towards him: in consequence of which, as soon as ever she arrived at any influence, she seized upon the best of his lands. Of this we have a strong proof in the account given in Doomsday Book of Devonshire.

Infra Scriptas terras tenuit Brictric: et post Mathildis Regina. p. 101. b.

These lands were very ample, and lay in the parishes of Levia, Halgewelle, Clovelie, Bedeford, Liteham, Langtreve, and ten more. In another place, mention is made of lands seized by the Queen in Dorsetshire: among which were those of Creneburne, Aisemare, and Medesham: and at the close it is said, *Hæc tria maneria tenuit Brictric tempore Regis Eduardi*, p. 75. c. His largest possessions seem to have been in the county, of

B b 3 which

which he was Earl. He held Turneberie, Sopeberie, Aveninge, and Fairford. Of the last it is said: Hoc manerium tenuit Mathildis Regina. p. 163. d. He also had Tedekesberie (Tewkesbury.) Hoc manerium tenuit Brietric filius Algar tempore Regis Eduardi. *ibid.* d. There were other lands held by Thanes under him, particularly Wenecote: of which it is said, Regina dedit hanc terram Rainaldo Capellano. *ibid.*

In all the accounts of forfeited estates, it will be found, that the persons are generally said to have held them in the time of King Edward. The reason is, because Harold was looked upon as an usurper; and in Doomsday Book he is never stiled any thing but Earl: *Heraldus Comes*. Besides, his reign amounted to little more than nine months: on which account the time of tenure is always referred to Edward.

A L R I C and A L G A R.

Concerning these persons history seems to be quite silent. The name of the former occurs in the 253 page of the poem, and the 315 verse.

As Alric hoistes his arme for dedlie blowe.

Though

Though he may not be mentioned by our historians, yet there is reason to think that he is the same person, whose name is to be repeatedly found in Doomsday; and which is expressed both Alric and Ailric. He held lands in Worcestershire. De ipso manerio tenet Rogerus de Lacy ii hidas ad Ulfrinton, &c. Tempore Regis Edwardi fuerunt in dominio, et *Alricus* eas tenuit. p. 172. d. Ad Speclea habent ii Francigenæ iii carucatas, et vi bordarii cum ii carucatis, &c. Hanc terram tenuit Alricus. p. 173. d. He had lands in Somersetshire. Bretel tenet de Comite (Moriton) Grindeham. Alric tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 92. a. By the poet he is said to have been the brother of Algar: who by the superiority of his estates seems to have been the elder of the two: and he is stiled an Earl. Among other lands, which belonged to him, the following are specified, which were seized upon by the king.

Rex tenet Clive (in Norhamptonshire) ibi est i hida et duæ virgatæ, et dimidium. Algar Comes tenuit. p. 220. a.

Rex tenet Wiclei. Algarus Comes tenuit. ibid.

In Scadewelle tenet Abbatia i hadam, et dimid virgatæ terræ, &c. Algarus Comes tenuit. Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Reginæ Mathildis. p. 222. b.

He was possessed of lands in Sumerfetshire, in the vicinity of Alric and Brictric : see page 88. a. b. also in Wiltshire, p. 69. d. But his chief possessions were at Scandone, Certclie, Westantone, Pinchetel, and twelve other places in Staffordshire : of all which he seems to have been Lord Paramount : till they were at the Conquest seized upon by the King. Rex tenet Rowcester. Algarus Comes tenuit. p. 246. b. c. The like is mentioned of the whole sixteen.

There was an Algar, the father of Brithric, concerning whom I have before made mention. But he must have been dead before the Battle of Hastings ; as his son had succeeded to his estate and honours. There was also a person of this name, the son of * Leofric, Earl of Mercia. His father was married to Godiva, that celebrated lady, to whom the city of Coventry was so much beholden : and they together founded there a noble monastery, in which they were afterwards † buried. Algar had a daughter Algitha, whom he gave in marriage to Griffin King of Wales. This led him on several occasions to join the Welch King ; and to be very disaffected towards King Edward : on which account he

* Simeon Dunelmensis. p. 187, 8, 9. Ingulphi Hist. p. 888.

† John Bromton, p. 945. 948. Knighton, p. 2334. 60.

was twice banished. Harold however obtained his pardon : and at all times shewed him great generosity and friendship : and upon the death of Griffin, he married the Lady * Algitha, Algar's daughter ; the sister of Edwin and Morcar. From this connection one might naturally suppose, that this was the Algar, who fought on his side in the battle, when the fate of his kingdom was decided. But I think it could not be so : for if we may trust Ingulphus of Croyland, this person, the son of Leofric, † died anno 1059 : seven years before that event.

If we may form any judgment from the situation of lands, I should think, that the person in the poem was the son of Algar, Earl of Gloucester : and consequently the brother of Brithric, in the vicinity of whose estates his possessions for the most part lay. Of this we may be assured, that the name is not fictitious ; nor the character formed by the poet's fancy. Such a person did at the time of the Conquest exist ; as is plain both from the lands, which he forfeited, as well as from those, which he retained. And he must have been a man of consequence by his being stiled Algarus Comes. It is remarkable, that several of his estates, like those of

* Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 1. Speed, p. 411. † P. 888.

Brithric,

Brithric, were seized upon by the Queen. Mathildis Regina tenet Merlave (in Com. Bochinghamscire) &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. D. B. p. 152. c.

Ipsa Regina tenet Hanbledene, &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. *ibid.*

From hence I am led to think, that he was a relation of Brithric, or Brietric: and probably his brother: and that he was denominated from his father; that Algar, who was Earl of Gloucester.

E I L W A R D E.

Harold says to two of his principal friends, p. 238. v. 22.

Go, Gyrth, and *Eilwarde*, take bills half a score.

Gyrth is well known, as being the king's brother; who together with Leofine was killed in the action. But *Eilwarde*, I believe, is a character not mentioned by any English writer. Yet such a character did really exist; and may be authenticated in the same manner, as those have been above. The name in Doomsday is expressed Elward, Ælward, Ailward, and Alward: and we may learn that the person so denominated was of eminence, and had large property. He had
lands

lands in Devonshire. Walter tenet de Goscelmo Newentone : Eluard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 112. c. Also in Worcestershire. De hoc manerio tenet Ricardus ii hidas, ad Dicford, &c. Ailwardus tenuit, et servitium reddidit, p. 173. b. He likewise had estates in Gloucestershire, as may be seen, p. 165. b. 167. b. 170. a. But he had still larger possessions in Somersetshire : most of which he was obliged to give up upon the revolution, which happened in the kingdom. Episcopus Sarisberienfis tenet Seveberge. Aluardus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 87. d.

Idem Episc. tenet Contone.—Aluard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi, ibid.

Episc. Constantien^s. tenet Doules. Aluard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid.

Ipsè Willelmus tenet Stocche. Aluard tenebat temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 96. b.

It is said of the village of Avra in Devonshire : Ailward tenebat temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 107. b.

Mention is also made of lands in Worcestershire. Urso tenet terras, quas tenuerunt Æluard, et Saulf, &c.—et ibi septem hidæ. p. 174. d. Again, de hac terrâ tenet Urso quatuor hidas :—Aluard tenuit : ibid. One Elward held lands in Shropshire after the conquest : Alward tenet de Comite Hundeslit.

deflit. p. 259. c. Elward tenet Muletione :
Godric tenuit. *ibid.*

Elward tenet Ristune. Seuuard tenuit. *ibid.*

Elward tenet Cirestoc. Siuuard tenuit. *ibid.*

He seems to be the same, who is called Alvert and Ailvert in the account of Dorsetshire. Ipse (Rogerus Arundel) tenet Ceburge: Alvert tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 82. c.

Robertus tenet de Rogero Blendford : Ailvert tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. *ibid.*

We must not wonder, if we find the same name expressed differently : for Saxon names are seldom uniformly represented. Besides, Doomsday Book was compiled by more than one person : and the same name, in consequence of it, is often variously rendered.

A L F I E.

Concerning this person, who is mentioned in the poem, p. 220. we have no account in history. His name I believe does not any where occur. Yet he is certainly the same, who in the book of Doomsday is called Aluui and Alwy : and had many estates in the time of King Edward. He is represented as a viscount, and held part of a large manour in Gloucestershire, of which Ældred archbishop of York had also a share.

In

In Bertune habuit rex Eduardus novem hidas, &c. De hoc manerio prestitit Ældred Archiepiscopus unam hidam, Brewere. Alterum membrum, nomine Optune, prestitit Aluui vicecomes. p. 162. d.

He had large possessions in other counties, especially in Summerfetshire.

Ipse Aluredus tenet Bur. Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. a.

Ricardus tenet de Aluredo Hunteworde : Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. b.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Strenegestone : Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Alfagestone, et Leding. Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid. There are in the same place instances of more estates, which once belonged to him in this county. Concerning lands belonging to a person of this name in Gloucestershire, see p. 165. a. and 170. a. in Devonshire, p. 112. c. 115. d.

He seems to have survived the battle ; for it is said in the account for Oxfordshire, Alwi Vicecomes tenet de Rege duas hidas et dimidium in Blicestone. p. 160. d.

Many of his lands lay near to those of Brietric : and there is reason to think that they were brothers. Hence in the description of Wiltshire it is said, Brietric, et Aluui, frater

frater ejus, tenuerunt Colesfeld tempore Regis Eduardi. valet decem libras. p. 73. c. He held other estates in this county: but Brictric many more, to a vast amount. See p. 73. c.

A L U R E D.

This person is mentioned in the poem, p. 213. v. 85. but we have no where else any history of him recorded. There are several of this name to be found in Doomsday Book. One is stiled Aluredus Brito, p. 115. d.: who held lands in Devonshire; and undoubtedly came over from Bretagne with the Conquerour. Another is stiled Aluredus, Nepos Wigot, p. 160. a. and held lands in Oxfordshire: but there is not the least reason to think, that he was an inhabitant before the Conquest: as he particularly held of the king. The person alluded to by the poet, appears to have been of consequence: and I imagine, that it was the same, who in Doomsday is stiled Alured of Marlborough: and who held large estates in Wiltshire, both before and after the Conquest. See Terra Aluredi de Merleberg. p. 70. b. That he was prior to the coming of the Normans, may be shewn from some lands, which he held in
Worcestershire,

Worcestershire, p. 175. b. Aluredus de Merleberg tenet Stocche: ibi 15 hidæ. Isd. ipse tenuit 12 hidas, et unam virgatam, temp. Regis Eduardi. — modo totum habebat Aluredus.

It was probably the same person, who had a fine manour at Weybridge in Surry: which was taken from him. In Wedbrige hæctenus tenuit ipsa Abbatia (de Certesyg, or Chertsey) 11 hidas. Aluredus tenuit tempore Reg. Eduardi. p. 32. c. Also in Devonshire. Huic Monasterio (de Bolenec) addita est Baldrintone. Alured tenebat — temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 102. b.

It must not be thought extraordinary, that persons, who had opposed the Conquerour, should after his establishment in the kingdom still hold part of their estates. His situation was precarious, and he was at times obliged to court the Saxon nobility, and afford them some indulgences. No one had opposed him more determinately than Edwin Earl of Chester, brother of Morcar Earl of Northumberland. This person brought off the remains of the English army at Hastings: and afterwards at London shut the gates against the Conquerour, and supported the cause of Edgar Atheling, the redoubted heir to the kingdom. He likewise levied armies in the north: yet William thought proper to win him

him over : and not only permitted him, as we may infer, to hold many of his former estates ; but went so far as to promise him his daughter in marriage. But this never took place : for Edwin revolted ; and in the year 1071 was killed, as it is * said, by his own people. I imagine, that he is the same, who by the poet is stiled Egwin. How great his possessions were may be known from Doomsday Book : where they are mentioned as lying in many different counties ; but particularly in † Cheshire.

That many, who had estates before the Conquest, held them afterwards, is plain from the terms *tenet*, and *tenuit* ; which are often applied to the same person at the same time. Thus p. 93. c. *Aluuard tenet de Rogero Holecumbe. Ipse tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. Alric tenet de Rogero Halsuuei. Ipse tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. ibid. d.*

A L F W O L D E.

Concerning this person history is quite silent : yet he is mentioned by the poet as a

* Chron. Sax. p. 181. Simeon Dunelm. p. 203. l. 22.

† See Doomsday Book, p. 263. d. 264. a. b. Edwin was dead, when this book was compiled.

leader of great consequence; and one who with Bythric headed the people from Bristol. He celebrates his valour in more places than one: particularly p. 253. v. 321.

O Alfwolde, saie, how shalle I syng of thee;
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

But though history may have overlooked the merit of this person; yet that such a one existed, may be known from the book of Doomſday: and that he was of the eminence suppoſed, may in ſome degree be ſhewn from his eſtates. Many of them lay, as might be expected, in Somerſetſhire and Gloceſterſhire: but he had likewiſe other lands in different counties. In Worceſterſhire he is ſaid to have held Nordfeild. *Idem Willelmus tenet Nordfeld: Aluuoldus tenuit: ibi ſex hidæ. p. 177. b. Hugo aſinus tenet Tichen apletrev, et Willelmus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Urſo tenet Hortune et Robertus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Tortworth in Gloceſterchire belonged to him. Iſd. Turſtinus tenet Tortworth in Bacheſtanes hundred: ibi una hida. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 169. c. His chief lands ſeem to have lain in Somerſetſhire, as one would naturally expect. *Episcopus tenet Wenfre — Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 88. c. Idem Willelmus tenet de Episcopo Straton: Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi.**

p. 88. c. Idem Dudeman tenet de Willelmo Wacet. Aluuold tenebat. p. 96. a.

Goisfrid tenet de Turstino Malpertone: Aluuold, valebat olim sex libras, tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. d.

Norman tenet de Turstino Wandestrev: Aluuold tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 97. d. He also held Duretone, and Ciretune in the same county: and other estates to the number of fourteen. The poet speaks of him, as if he were slain at Hastings: but from the record, which I here quote, one would be led to think that he survived the battle. For a person of this name is spoken of as still holding one estate, in the Conqueror's time: of which he was possessed before. Aluuold tenet de Rege Pignocfire (in Gloucestrescire) ipse tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 170. c.

This difference between Alfwold and Alwold is of little consideration: for Saxon names are seldom expressed uniformly the same, as I have shewn before. Alfwold was the name of an ancient King of Northumberland: and we find him called both Alfwold, and Alwold, by the same writer. See Chron. Sax. p. 62, 63. It was also the name of an Abbot of Evesham, who was afterwards Bishop of London. He is by * Simeon Dunelmensis called Alwold: by

* P. 182. l. 12.

* Radulf de Diceto Ailward : by † John Bromton Elword : by ‡ Henry Knyghton Elfwold. His name is mentioned by Le Neve with still greater variations, who speaks of his being made Bishop of London about the year 1035. Fasti, p. 176. We must not therefore think it any objection to the evidence afforded, if Alfwold be stiled Alwold : Alfie Aluui : and Brithric be found expressed Bithric and Brietric. The person who is called Algar by Simeon, Bromton, and Knyghton, is stiled Alfgar, and Ælfgar by others. See Chron. Sax. p. 165. 169. 171.

G O O D R I C K.

The history of this person is obscure : but he is represented by the poet, p. 220. v. 213. as one of the principal leaders under Harold, and consequently he must have been of eminence in his time. He appears to have held lands in Kent, Suffex, and other counties. Godefridus tenet de Willelmo Childetune (in Sudsexe :) Godricus tenuit de Rege Eduardo.

* P. 475. l. 9.

† P. 938. l. 63.

‡ P. 2329. l. 67. Robert is expressed Rodbert, Rotberd, Rotbeard, Rodbriht, and Rodbyrd, in the same volume. See Chron. Sax.

p. 27. b. Idem (Hugo) Comes tenet Fiscartone (in Wiltescire) &c. Godricus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 69. a.

Isd. Rainbaldus tenet (in Gloucesterscire) in Nortcote i hidam. Godricus ten : temp. Regis Eduardi. p. 166. d.

Malgerus tenet de Comite (Moritone) Contune (in Sumerfete.) Godric tenuit temp. Reg. Euardi. p. 91. d. It is unnecessary to specify all his possessions, for they were very large ; and very widely dispersed.

T O S S E L Y N.

The poet makes mention of the Duke of Normandy drawing his bow, and adds,

The arrowe dauncynge in the ayre dyd synge,
And hytt the horse (of) *Toffelyn* on the knee.

p. 215. v. 104.

I scarcely know a name more uncommon than this : which I believe is no where recorded in any regular history. The only place, where it can be authenticated, is that repository to which I have been so often obliged. In short, I think, we may be pretty certain, that the person mentioned is the same, who in Doomsday is called Tezelin : and who in the time of Edward the Confessor, among other estates held one under the Bishop of Salisbury
at

at Niderbury in Dorsetshire. De eadem terrâ tenuit de Episcopo Tezelinus v hid. et tres virgatas terræ, &c. p. 77. b. A person of this name held likewise lands in Hampshire under Hugo de Port, both in Borehunte and Aplestede. p. 45. c. Also under Roger de Lacy in Herefordshire. Idem Rogerus tenet Letune; et Tezelinus de eo.—ibi iii hidæ geld: &c. p. 184. d. Again, Rogerus tenet Hide, & Tezelin'. de eo. ibid. c.

M E R W Y N.

The poet takes notice of Merwyn, the son of Tudor, who fought for Harold at the Battle of Hastings. p. 232. v. 471. He was, I imagine, the person, who held part of those lands in Herefordshire, which were afterwards by the Conqueror given to one of his followers. Willelmus Filius Normanni tenet Baifan, &c. Merwin tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. D. B. p. 181. a. They lay in that part of the county, which the writer tells us, Rex Griffin et Blein vastaverunt. ibid. Hereabouts was a place called Matma; of which the same writer says, Merewin tenuit Teinus Odonis. p. 184. c. He likewise had an estate at Borehunte in Hampshire, to which he had been appointed by King Edward. It

was probably given to him for his skill in hunting. Ipse Hugō (de Porth) tenet unam hidam in Borehunte: et Tezelinus de eo: &c. Leffi et Merwen tenuerunt de Rege. p. 55. c. We may perceive from hence, and from what has preceded, that Tezelin, of whom mention was made above, succeeded Merwyn in one estate: and held others very near to him in Herefordshire. From these circumstances I am induced to think, that they were both of the same country, Wales. The lands in Herefordshire were probably given to these persons, on account of their attachment to the Saxon Monarchs; and their uniform opposition to the Princes of their own country. They were placed upon the borders, as being sure to withstand any incursion; and to maintain the estates, which had been given to them.

H E R E W A R D E.

The poet speaking of Old Sarum, mentions a person of consequence, who was a native of that place.

Herewarde, born of parents brave and wise,
Within this ville first adrew the ayre:
A blessing to the erthe sente from the skies.

p. 265. v. 555.

He

He was one of the Earls, who attended upon Harold at Hastings : and has had the good fortune to be taken notice of by some of our writers. Though his history be short, and not very obvious ; yet an history of him there is : and the persons, who have transmitted it, mention his * loyalty and prowess : and justify the great encomiums bestowed upon him by the poet. There seems to be other evidence, that there was such a person, and of the times, concerning which we are treating : and this evidence is from the same records, to which I have so often applied. Herewardus tenuit v hidas ad Eunilade (in Wirecestrescire,) ibi sunt duæ carucata, et ix villani, &c. p. 173. b.

He survived the battle; and in the year 1071 joined Morcar, and Egelwine Bishop of Durham, together with Seward Bearn at Ely : which place he † maintained for a long time against the Conqueror. At last, Seward, Morcar, and the Bishop, were obliged to surrender. Hereward however would not submit : but with his followers, boldly made his way through the ‡ fens, and got off.

* Herewardus, vir strenuissimus. Simeon Dunelmensis. 203. See also John Bromton, p. 969.

† Duce Herewardo, de gente Anglorum, viro nobilissimo, ac strenuo, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 7. l. 28. Dux belli et magister militum. Ingulphi Hist. p. 901. l. 56.

‡ See the writers above ; and Chron. Sax. p. 181. Radulphus de Diceto. p. 184.

Upon this he forfeited several of his estates, which till this time he had been permitted to hold. One of these is mentioned in Doomsday. It is there said—*Terram Asford in Bercham Hund. (in Lincolnshire) dictæ Wapentakæ n̄ habuisse Herewardum die, quâ au- fugit. p. 376. d.* However he seems to have survived this flight, though history be silent about it: for he is mentioned as still holding lands to a considerable amount in different places: at least there is a person of this name. *Ipse Comes (de Mellent) tenet in Wapentune (Warwickshire) III hidas: et Hereward de eo. Idem ten. tempore Regis Edwardi. p. 240. a.*

Ipse Comes tenet in Merstone I hidam: et Hereward de eo. Idem Herewardus lib. tenuit temp. R. Edw. p. 240. c.

Ipse Comes tenet in Bernhangre, &c.—et Hereward de eo. Idem Hereward libere tenuit temp. Reg^s. Eduardi. ibid. This noble person was greatly celebrated after his death, and many songs were composed to his memory, which in the time of * Ingulphus of Croyland were in high repute; but have been long since lost. This writer gives a more ample account of Hereward and his achievements, than any other historian.

* P. 829. Ingulphus lived in the reign of Henry the First.

B E R T R A M.

The poet mentions the son of this person, and styles him, *the man of glorious wound*, p. 243. v. 117. Our historians are quite silent about Bertram; nor are there any means, by which we can arrive at the name of the son. We have however fortunately sufficient evidence to certify, that such a person as Bertram existed; and that he was a friend of Harold's, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in his reign. This may be known from the list of those Wardens or Barons, preserved by Lambarde and Philpot: and which is likewise to be found in Somner's treatise upon the Roman Ports in Kent, p. 118. He is there styled Bertram Ashburnham; i. e. Bertram of Ashburnham, and stands third in the list, being the immediate successor to Harold, by whom he was appointed. Why his son is styled *the man of glorious wound*, I cannot presume to say. It may possibly be, because he was by nation a Norman, one of those, who had been favoured by Edward, and who adhered to Harold; and consequently was a friend to the Saxon cause. It was certainly not a Saxon name: and there was a person of the contrary party so called, who
came

came over with the * Conqueror. He is mentioned D. B. p. 37. c. among the principal persons, who had lands given to them in Hampshire: where he succeeded to Tosti, the brother of Harold. Willelmus Bertram tenet de Rege Polemetune. Tosti tenuit temp. R. Eduardi. p. 47. b. Bertram of Ashburnham may have been of the same family, though engaged on the contrary side. Be this as it may; that such a person existed, and was a friend of Harold's, is plain past all controversy. And he undoubtedly was a person of great consequence, and of approved fidelity. For the King must have had the highest opinion of that man; to whom he entrusted Dover and the Cinque Ports.

N O R M A N N E.

This person was not a Saxon, but of the opposite party at the Battle of Hastings. I have however the same reasons for introducing his name, as I had for those above. The poet speaking of Leofwyne, mentions his hurling a javelin with great force, and adds,

Itte whyzz'd a gastlie dynne in Normanne's ear,
Then thundryng dyd upon hys greave alyghte.

p. 251. v. 285.

* See Battle Roll. Stow. p. 105.

The

The name may create suspicion ; as it does not occur in any one of the lists. And it may besides seem strange, when the army consisted in general of Normans, that a person should be distinguished by such an indeterminate appellation. Yet there is authority for this circumstance : and we accordingly find in the Ely tablet (a specimen of which we have in Mr. Bentham's very curious account of that * Cathedral) a person so denominated. It appears, that William the Conqueror being irritated at the behaviour of the Monks of Ely, had upon their surrender appointed forty of his officers to be quartered upon them. These were received in a most hospitable manner : and they made on their side suitable returns : so that when they left the monastery, there was a picture designed, in order to commemorate the harmony and friendship, which had subsisted between the two parties. A very ancient copy of this picture still remains : and every officer is painted with the Monk, who particularly entertained him : and under each compartment their names are specified. One of these persons is called Robertus Normannus. He was probably so named from the place of his residence, Normanville. There is in the same

* Hist. and Antiq. of the church of Ely, p. 106.

tablet another person, stiled Lucey Norman-
nus; and possibly a relation of the former.
They were both of great rank; the one a
Mareschal, and the other an Admiral.

In Doomsday Book mention is made of
some estates belonging to Robert, which lay
in Wiltshire. Terra Roberti Marescal; part
of which Eddid, King Edward's Queen, the
daughter of Earl Goodwin, possessed before,
p. 73. b. Also among the great personages,
who held lands in Gloucestershire, we find a
Fitznorman. He was undoubtedly a son of
one of those before mentioned. See p. 162
and 167. c. But there was a person of the
very name of Norman, who held lands in
Somersetshire. Norman tenet de Turstino
Wandestrev. p. 97. d. Norman tenet de
Chaivert. ibid. Norman tenet de Roberto
Litelton. Norman tenet de R. Bertone.
p. 94. b. The name occurs in the accounts
of other counties, particularly of Lincoln-
shire; where a person stiled Normannus
Crassus held Carletune and Canvic. See Terra
Normanni Crassi, p. 362. a. Also another
stiled Normannus de Adreci, who had in the
same county far larger possessions. p. 361. c. d.
He is mentioned among the chief of the
nobility, who held lands in that county,
p. 337. a.

The name of King Edward's Queen above
mentioned

mentioned is variously represented. By some it is rendered Edith and Editha : by Ingulph of Croyland, Egith : by William of Malmfbury, Edgith : by the compiler of Doomfday Book, Eddid : which is properly Eddið. She furvived her husband, and dying in 1074, was buried at Westminster. Writers describe her as a woman of a great character, though of a bad father : hence it is said by Ingulphus, p. 905,

Sicut Spina Rosam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.

From what has been mentioned above, we have a farther proof of the great latitude taken in the expreffing of Saxon names.

M A N N.

A person of this name is mentioned by the poet, p. 218. v. 172 : which name for a Norman may seem extraordinary : and the more so, as it does not occur either in the Battle, or Norman * lists. Yet that such a person existed at the time specified, may be proved from a son, stiled Fitz Manne, who had estates conferred upon him by the Conqueror. One of these lay in Suffex. Willelmus Filius

* It is only to be seen in the list of Thomas Scriven, preserved by Stow.

Manne tenet de Willelmo Wapingetorne. Carle tenuit de Rege Edwardo. D. B. p. 28. b. Also p. 48. c. Terra Willelmi Filij Manne. Willelmus Filius Manne tenet in Niwetone (Hantescire) unam hidam. Aluric tenuit de Rege, &c. He is also mentioned, p. 154. among the chief barons, who had estates in Oxfordshire: also p. 160. b. so that from the son we may ascertain the father; and shew, that he was a person of consequence.

T A T W I N E.

It is not only difficult to obtain any knowledge of the persons, introduced by the poet; but even to get authorities for their names: many of them are so very uncommon. Such is that above, which occurs in the poem, p. 273. v. 719. We find in the Saxon Chronicle one person named Tatwine: and I believe, we may search a long time, before we find an instance in any other writer. This was an ancient archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 731.

I have received great advantages from the Doomſday Book, which is a most curious, and invaluable record. The precise time when the compilation was made, may not be easy to ascertain. Indeed it must have taken
up

up some years in compleating. Thus much we know, that it was not finished till after the death of Queen Mathildis, the Conqueror's wife. This is plain from several passages, where it is said, Mathildis Regina tenuit. But more particularly from p. 222. b. where mention is made of the manour of Scadewelle; concerning which it is said, Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Mathildis Reginae. The Queen died anno 1083.

C O N T I N U A T I O N.

As the persons of whom I have been treating are so little known; and the very names have been long buried in obscurity; by what means could a youth of sixteen have been in the least acquainted with them? Surely not from history. We cannot suppose, that any body so young, and so situated, could have access to the authors necessary for this purpose. Besides, we have seen, that even history will not afford the intelligence required. In respect to the Norman names, it is said, that he might have got them from Battle roll. But I have shewn, that this roll does not suffice for one half of them. And if it did; yet from what quarter did he obtain those of the Saxons: many of which, as I have

have before said, are not to be found in any English historian? As to the resource, to which I have applied, it could not have been obvious, or even known, to him. The names then have been invented, and introduced by him at hazard. If this were the case, he must have been particularly fortunate in having so many latent evidences for that which was mere whim and fancy.

But it is not only upon these names and their evidences, that I found my opinion; but upon the many curious and remote allusions, which continually occur. Some of these after very deep inquiry may be traced out: others are too obscure, and too far removed from us to be at all explained. Now these dark hints, and oblique references are to me another proof of the antiquity of these poems. They must have been introduced by a person, who was well acquainted with the facts referred to; and who addressed himself to people equally intelligent: even by him, who declares himself to have been the author, by saying with great impartiality

* I, thô a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle.

For let a writer be ever so artfully disposed, and so diligent in counterfeiting; yet you will rarely see him point to a non-entity;

* Battle of Hastings, p. 224. v. 312.

and

and make allusions, where there is no object of reference. An author is never voluntarily deficient. It is not his business to darken, but elucidate :

Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem.

I have mentioned several little histories, to which there is a retrospect in these poems; particularly those of Matraval, and Powisland; of Bithric and Howel ap Jevah. Concerning these and many others we have been so fortunate, as to obtain some intelligence. But there are other obscure references, that are incidentally brought before us, concerning which no account can be given. Instances to this purpose we have in the *overthrow of Standrip Tower*, *Tinyans necromancy*: the *goats of Conyan*; and the *Souls of the fairy-stricken people*, which are said to wander to the *dike of Offa*. Many more of the same nature may be found in these poems. These allusions were not originally dark: the circumstances were no secret at the time of writing. But things recent necessarily grow obsolete by time: and facts well known will become obscure.

These indirect and imperfect notices are therefore very frequent in ancient writings. They break in upon us continually; and are partial lights, that direct to unknown objects :

D d to

to objects far removed, which we cannot at present distinguish. But in recent compositions they occur very rarely : for, as I before said, it is the business of an author, not to darken, but illuminate : and no body is designedly unintelligible. Whoever takes an ancient piece of history for his subject, will dwell upon the well-known facts ; and expend his labour upon the leading circumstances of that history. He will never amuse his reader with dark, and unsatisfactory allusions : nor raise his curiosity merely to disappoint it. As I have some verses by me, upon the very same subject as the poem, concerning which we have been treating ; I will lay them before the reader : and from thence he may see, that let a person be ever so assiduous, yet he will never attain to that mass of occult intelligence, which is to be observed in a writing of the times : nor abound with those incidental references, which distinguish a primitive work. As it may too much interrupt the present course of inquiry to present them immediately, I will not introduce them in this place ; but consign them to the rear, that they may be considered, or passed by, as may seem best to the reader.

I cannot quit this subject without mentioning a passage in the poet, which may perhaps

further illustrate, what I have been saying. In the beginning of the Battle of Hastings, there is a noble apostrophe made to the sea: concerning whose influence the poet speaks with regret: as it was not exerted to the destruction of the Normans.

O sea, our teeming donore, han thy floud
 Han anie fructuous entendement,
 Thou wouldst have rose and sank wyth tydes of bloude,
 Before Duke William's Knyghts han hither went:
 Whose cowart arrows menie erles (have) fleyne,
 And brued the feeld wyth bloude as season rayne.'

p. 210.

I mention this, because I think, that we may perceive here a tacit reference to an event; which at first sight is not obvious. The author in his address to the sea seems to say, had thy flood been calculated for any good, it would have arisen, before the Norman navy had reached our shores: and preserved us from that fatal invasion. When therefore he says, had thy flood had any good intention, it is natural to ask, *when*: and *upon what occasion*. For by the tenour of the words he seems to refer to a time; and allude to some particular crisis. And when he adds, after this intimation, that it would then have risen before the landing of the Normans; he seems to indicate, that it had risen, but at a less favourable season. It appears, therefore, to me, that there is in this passage to be observed one of those

occult allusions, of which I made mention before. There is certainly a retrospect to an event, well known in the age of the writer: and that event was an overflowing of the sea. Now it is remarkable, that at the time, when I suppose the first sketch of this poem to have been produced, there were great inundations upon the southern coasts of England, which are taken notice of by several of our historians. They happened in the latter part of the reign of William Rufus, and in the early part of that of his successor. That in the time of Rufus is mentioned, as very extraordinary in its effects; and consequently very alarming. The author of the Saxon * Chronicle speaks of its being attended with the greatest damages ever known. The like is recorded by Simeon of Durham. † Mare littus egreditur; et villas et homines quam plures, &c. demersit. Florence of ‡ Worcester writes to the same purpose. Great part of Zealand is said at this time to have suffered: and the § Goodwin sands are supposed to have been formed by this inundation, which before did not appear.

Mr. Tyrwhitt thinks, that, instead of *O Sea, our teeming Donore*, the true reading

* Anno 1099. p. 207.

† P. 224. l. 58.

‡ Ad annum 1099. p. 649. Fabian, v. i. p. 316.

§ Camden, p. 755. Rapin, p. 189.

was,

was, *O, sea-o'er-teeming Dover*. This is a very ingenious alteration, and I think highly probable. But instead of forming a decompound, I should rather separate the second term, and read, *O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover*: for the address must be to the *sea*, and not to the *place*: as the poet in the third verse speaks of its *rising*. Now to *teem* signifies to *abound* and to be *prolifick*: also to *pour* and *fill*. Hence we find in Ainsworth, *teemful*, *brimful*. The same also occurs in Ray's North-Country words: To *teem*, to *pour out*, or *lade*. Also *teemful*, *brimful*: having as much as can be *teemed in*; i. e. poured in. p. 60, 61. Accordingly, *o'er-teeming* must signify *overflowing*, *pouring over*. When therefore the poet addresses himself to this *o'er-teeming sea*, he seems to allude to that general * inundation, by which Dover, and many other places upon the southern coast of this island, were overwhelmed. Stow mentions that this flood did great mischief to many towns and villages upon the sides of the Thames: and it is said to have prevailed in the North, as high up as Scotland. But its chief fury seems to have been in the narrow seas of the channel: and upon those very coasts upon

* See John Bromton, p. 1003. l. 21. also Knyghton, Higden and Polydore Vergil. Camden, p. 1505. See particularly Somner's Roman Ports, p. 26, 27.

which a few years before the Normans had landed. It was natural for a writer of the times to allude to an event so recent ; and to make a reference so obvious. And I do not know any person, to whom this address can with propriety be ascribed, but to Turgot. He was probably writing at the very time of this calamity : and nothing could be more natural than for him at such a season to make this apostrophe : which is very much illustrated by the history of those times.

O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover, had thy flood had any good purpose to our country, it would have risen before Duke William with his nobles had arrived upon our coasts : and have overwhelmed his army. This in great measure authenticates, what is said by * Rowley, that this poem was a version from a Saxon manuscript : and it justifies his invocation of Turgot, to whom he was beholden for it. See backward p. 227.

CONSIDERATIONS

upon some words and expressions.

I shall now mention some particular terms, concerning which I have entertained suspi-

* Memoires of Sir William Canynge, p. 127. in the Miscell. by T. Chatterton.

cions:

cions : and there are persons of superior knowledge in antiquity, who have had the like scruples. It has been said, and with great appearance of truth, that there are words introduced contrary to analogy ; and in opposition to the idiom of the language, which is thought then to have prevailed. These exceptions appeared of weight ; and I could not help being affected by them ; till I found upon a closer inquiry, that these seeming anomalies might be fairly accounted for ; and that there were authorities to this purpose. It is observed, among other words objected to, that the plural *eyne* is often put for the singular *eye*.

In everych *eyne* aredyngge nete of wyere. p. 11. v. 79.

In everie *eyne* I kenne the lowe of myghte.

p. 123. v. 681.

In the first place these may have been the mistakes of the transcriber, who was certainly not sufficiently conversant in ancient language. The genuineness of the poems cannot on this account be justly impeached. How many errors are to be found in first printed editions of the best Latin authors ? These have been since corrected ; and nobody ever thought from hence of calling in question the originality of those writings. If the plural *eyne* be wrong, let it be at once altered to *eye* ; but do not suffer it to affect either the author, or the poems.

In everych eye aredyng ne te of wyere.
In everie eye I kenne, &c.

After all, some allowance should be made for poetical liberties: for we must not esteem every thing a fault against syntax, which does not precisely accord now with the general mode either of speaking or writing. The author of the Glossary to Gawin Douglas tells us, that liberties of this sort were not uncommon in the version, of which he was treating: and we may reasonably infer, that the same was usual in other writings. * *The plural of nouns is frequently used for the singular, as in the Latin and Greek: and sometimes, though very rarely, vice versâ.* We must not therefore think it very strange, if the like should be found in a writer not many years antecedent. In conformity to this, I think, that we may perceive an instance of eyen (expressed ene) being used as a singular in the author above mentioned. It is in a passage, where mention is made of the morning star.

Qualis ubi oceani perfusus Lucifer undâ.

* * * * *

Extulit os sacrum cœlo.

Æneid. l. viii. v. 589.

— hye in the hevyn lifting his vysage schene,
To chafe away the merkness with his *ene*. p. 264.
i. e. with his *look*, or *eye*.

* Under General Rules, opposite p. 486.

There

There is another passage, where it is used as a singular past all dispute. The poet is speaking of Augustus Cæsar standing up in his ship at the battle of Actium.

—— geminas cui tempora flammæ
Lætæ vomunt. L. viii. v. 680.

Heich in the fore stam stand he nicht be sene,
For his blyith browis brent; and athir *ene*
The fire twinkling, and his faderis star
Shew from his helmes top, schynand on fer.
G. D. p. 268. l. 11.

By *athir ene* is meant either, or each, eye.
The following line occurs in a very ancient poem.

Nis no tonge an erþe, ne no eyen—
i. e. no tongue, nor no eye. Vita Sanctæ
Margaretæ. Hickes Thesaurus. vol. i. p. 228.
By some writers eye and eyn seem to
be used indifferently either in the singular
or plural. Of this we may in some degree
be assured from Rob. of Gloucester.

Alfred hii ladde to Ely and pulte out bothe hys eye:
And hulde hym there in prisson vorte sely mon gan deye.
p. 328. l. 1.

The same allowance should be made in
respect to the word *han* or *hane*, which occurs
sometimes in the singular, contrary to the
common usage of the times.

Hanne

Hanne alle the fuirie of mysfortunes wille
Fallen on mie benned heade. p. 166. v. 1184.

O Hengist, han thy cause bin good and true!
p. 225. v. 319.

But better han it bin to lette alone. p. 226. v. 337.

This may sometimes have been the fault of the transcriber, who has substituted a plural for a singular. Or it may have taken its rise from a provincial way of speaking, which the author, like other writers in their several departments, followed. We must not uniformly judge from the language of the capital concerning the mode of speaking in provinces: for there were certainly different dialects. In many of the instances, where *hane* and *han* occur, the terms may be altered to *hath* or *had*, without any impeachment of the sense, or detriment to the verse. And after all, there is authority for the usage of this word in the singular, by which the reading in Rowley may be countenanced. In an ancient book, called the Pylgrimage of the Soul, which I have before mentioned; there occurs an example to this purpose.

He, that *hane* suffered hard and grevous peyne.

Fol. 13. Stanza 4.

I hane ben with the, whan thou knewe it nought.

Fol. 18.

I hane the sayd, how deth the hath affect. p. 21. l. 5.

The like may be found in the vision of Pierce Plowman.

— Hane

— *Hane* this in hert,

That though he suffered all this, God suffered for
us more. p. 81. l. 24.

i. e. observe and take notice.

We meet with the term introduced after the same manner in Occleve. It is in his prologue, where he is speaking of Chaucer.

— * the honour of English tongue is dede,
Of which I wont was *han* counfel and rede.

If it should be said, that the instances here produced, are mistakes, which have arisen either from the imperfections of the manuscripts, or the ignorance of the person who copied them, I will not dispute the point; though I think, that it could not always have been the case. However, let us make the same allowance for the poems in question, which have certainly in some degree suffered both from the manuscripts being defective, and from the incapacity of the person, who copied them. But as I said before, there is certainly authority for the usage of these terms, as we find them introduced in Rowley. In Robert of Gloucester, as well as in Robert Brunne, the terms *han* and *hane* occur for *had* and *have*: and Hearne in his Glossary to the latter, mentions their being elsewhere to be found. He adds that *hane* and *have* are used *promiscuously*.

* See Hist. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 43.

I must

I must confess, that I had some doubts about the propriety of another word—*thissen*: and a person of uncommon learning and experience has entertained the same.

Lette thyssen menne— Eclog. 2d. p. 11.

But I found it to be the same as the word *thesne*, which occurs in Robert of Gloucester: the same also as the term *þyrne*, *þyrrum*, and *þyrron* of the Saxons. *Æfter þyrrum*, post hæc. *Æfter þyrron*, after these things. Bede, p. 504. and Gen. ch. xlv. 15. See Lye and Manning. *þyrne lapp*—this bread. *þyrne stan*, this stone. *Of þyrron hlafe*. of this bread. Saxon version of the Gospels.

Without doubt all strange terms, and uncouth expressions must necessarily create scruples and suspicions, however we may be prejudiced in favour of the poems. But when upon inquiry we find either examples or analogy for such phrases and words, they then operate in a contrary manner; and confirm us in our original opinion.

There is a passage in the first battle of Hastings, of which I have before taken notice. In this the poet speaks of the sea having *any fructuous entendement*, p. 210. v. 6. I scarcely know an expression, which at first sight is more likely to be suspected. Yet there is authority in a Mss. poem of Occleve; to which we may well suppose that Chatterton

ton had never access. It is the same, to which I referred before : in which he pays a noble compliment to the memory of Chaucer.

* But weleawaye, so is myne heartè wo,
That the honour of English tonge is dede :
Of which I wont was han counfel and rede.
O Mayster dere, and fadir reverent,
Mirrour of *fructuous entendement*.
O universal fadir in science.

Occleve was of the same age as Rowley ; and not many years before him. The former of the words occurs compounded in Gawin Douglas.

† Zour fruite is bot unfructuous fantasye.

Knowlachyng is a word of the same nature : equally liable to raise scruples.

And *knowlachyng* he soon must quyt this lyfe.

p. 223. v. 283.

Yet there is as good authority for this word, as there was for that above. In the storie of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of two persons, whose consciences struck them :

‡ And faire before William thei felle on knees both,
And *knowlacheden* al the cas, howe thei cast hadde.

* See Mr. Wharton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii.
p. 43.

† Prologue, p. 93. l. 25.

‡ Mss. King's Col. Fol. 72.

In Lydgate it occurs more precisely in the sense above.

* When King Arthur had *knowlechyng*
Of his foul treason.

We read also in Wiclif's version—The fruyt of lippis knowlechyng to his name. Hebrews, c. xiii.

M I N S T E R.

An objection has been brought against these poems, because a church in Bristol, supposed to be that of the Augustine Monastery, is stiled a Minster.

Or fierye round the Mynster glare.

Song to Ælla, p. 25.

It is thought, that this term is only applicable to † cathedrals : of which number this church of Bristol was not in the time of Rowley. But I should think, that this objection is not well founded, on account of several places terminating in Minster, which were not so distinguished from being honoured with a cathedral : but from the

* Fol. 16. l. 8.

† *Minster is a word almost appropriated to Cathedrals.*
See the Hist. of English Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Wharton. vol. ii. p. 156. notes.

church

church of a monastery, for which they were noted. Such are Axminster, Warminster, Leominster, Stourminster; and Minster, simply so called, in the isle of Thanet. The term originally was used for a monastery: and when it was applied to a church, it denoted the church of such a monastery. The church of Ely, I make no doubt, was called the Minster Church long before it was a Cathedral: and when there remained nothing of the monastery but the church, the church retained the name of Minster. According to some writers, every parochial church was so called. In the laws of King Edgar, no priest is to interfere with another priest in that other priest's church, or parish; nor in any wise lessen his authority.—Ne æt ðo æn þapa þinga þe him to gebrige, ne on his Mynster, ne on his scriftscipe. N° 9. This is interpreted, *that he shall not abridge him in his church or his parish.* It is said of William Rufus, that for the good of his father's soul he made presents to every church in England: to ælcen mynster: unicuique Ecclesiæ. Chron. Sax. p. 192. King Stephen was buried in the church of Feversham in Kent; which is stiled a Minster. It is mentioned of King Canute, that he built a church at Assendune for the souls of those, who had been slain in the battle near that place:

place: which church he entrusted to a priest named Stigand. This is stiled a Minster, and specified farther, an mýnster of stane ⁊ lime: *a minster of stone and lime*. Chron. Sax. p. 150. The translator of Froissart speaks of a Minster at Paris, which seems to have been a common parish church. He had been mentioning some pageantry exhibited in that city, in honour of the royal family, and says,—*Thanafter under the Mynster of the Trinyte in the strete there was a stage*, vol. ii. fol. 173. I think from what has been said, that this term was not appropriated solely to cathedrals, nor even to monasteries. We may add to the foregoing proofs, what we find in the works of the best Etymologists. Mýnster, monasterium, cænobium:—item Ecclesia. Mýnster-clura, Ecclesiæ clausura. Mýnster-clænrunḡ,—Ecclesiæ reconciliatio. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. Mynster, *Church, Monastery*. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester. Sed et universim Ecclesiæ omnes monasteria dictæ. Du Cange, vol. iv. p. 896. Spelman says the same. Monasterium pro Ecclesiâ. I have mentioned, that similar objections have been made on account of Bristol being in the poem stiled a *City*, before it had a cathedral, and became a Bishop's See. But these objections, as I have attempted to shew, are alike ill-founded, as may be farther proved from

from the history of Gloucester. This place is mentioned as a city long before it was made a seat of episcopacy: and this may be shewn from Doomsday Book. Tempore Regis Eduuardi reddebat *Civitas* de Glowcestre xxxvi libras numeratas, et xii sextaria mellis ad mensuram ejusdem Burgi, &c.

Modo reddit ipsa Civitas Regi lx libras de xx in ora, &c. p. 163.

The ACCOUNT of W. CANYNGE's FEAST.

The word *account* has been thought liable to exception, as not having been used in that sense so early. It is supposed to have related merely to numbers and calculation: and it is therefore concluded, that the poems could not be so ancient, as has been imagined. But I suspect that this inference is not just; nor the position true: for ancient poems have not always titles: and when they have, they are liable to be altered. Hence the poem may be ancient, though the superscription should appear to have been by a later hand. And after all, I have before quoted a verse from G. Douglas, where the word is found in a different acceptation; and has no relation to numbers.

E e

Thy

* Thy fervent wordis compt I not ane stro.

i. e. esteem not.

If to compt, or count, be to *esteem*, then an account must be an *estimate*.

It is true, Gawin Douglas did not make his version of the *Æneis* till the sixteenth century, about the year 1513: but his language must be esteemed somewhat older; for he was born 1471. So that he commenced nearly, where Rowley ended.

EW BRYCE, or EW BRICE.

Another word, which may have given rise to scruples, is Ewbrice. The Lady Birtha says to the Danes in the Tragedy of *Ælla*,

Mie thanks I ever onne you wylle bestowe,
From *Ewbryce* you mee pyghte, the worste of mortal
woe. p. 157. v. 1085.

The term is explained in the note adultery: but more truly in this place signifies violence, rape, and dishonour. The request made by the lady is not to be kept from committing adultery, but to be saved from outrage and ravishment. It is however certain, that it has also the former sense: and it may possibly seem very strange, that such a word should

* P. 445. l. 36.

be

be found in these poems. But nothing was more common than for Saxon writers to affectedly introduce Greek words: and the custom continued to the time, when I suppose, that this play was composed. For I am persuaded, that the original was the work of Turgott: though it has since been revised, and put into a new dress by Rowley: and that, which may appear matter of suspicion, will be found a proof of its authenticity. William of Malmſbury tries to excuse the learned * Aldhelm; who had disgusted many persons by his unnecessary introduction of foreign terms in his writings. He is speaking of his treatises de Virginitate —† quibus meo judicio nihil dulcius; nihil splendidius: quamvis, ut est nostri sæculi desidia, quibusdam nauseam pariant; non attendentibus, quia juxta mores gentium variantur modi dictaminum. The learned author of the Anglia Sacra speaks of this affectation as prevailing greatly in the times before the conquest: and says, that Aldhelm was more moderate than others. ‡ Id in

* He was Abbot of Malmſbury; and esteemed in his time a person of great learning, and of equal piety. He was at last Bishop of Shirburn.

† Will. of Malmſbury, de Gestis Regum Ang. l. i. p. 13.

‡ Wharton's Ang. Sacra. vol. ii. p. 7.

omnibus antiquis chartis est animadvertendum, quantum in quibusdam verbis abstrusis, ex græco petitis, delectentur. Moderatius tamen se agit Aldhelmus. This turn of mind may be in some degree perceived even in the grants of princes, of which there are many examples. We have one instance in a Latin writ of King Edgar; wherein he does not stile himself Rex; but—* Ego Edgar Basileus Anglorum. The like may be seen in the grants of other Saxon Kings. Some traces of this taste may be found long afterwards. Accordingly Gower says of an imaginary personage,

She passeth, as it were a *skie*,
All clean out of the Ladies sight:

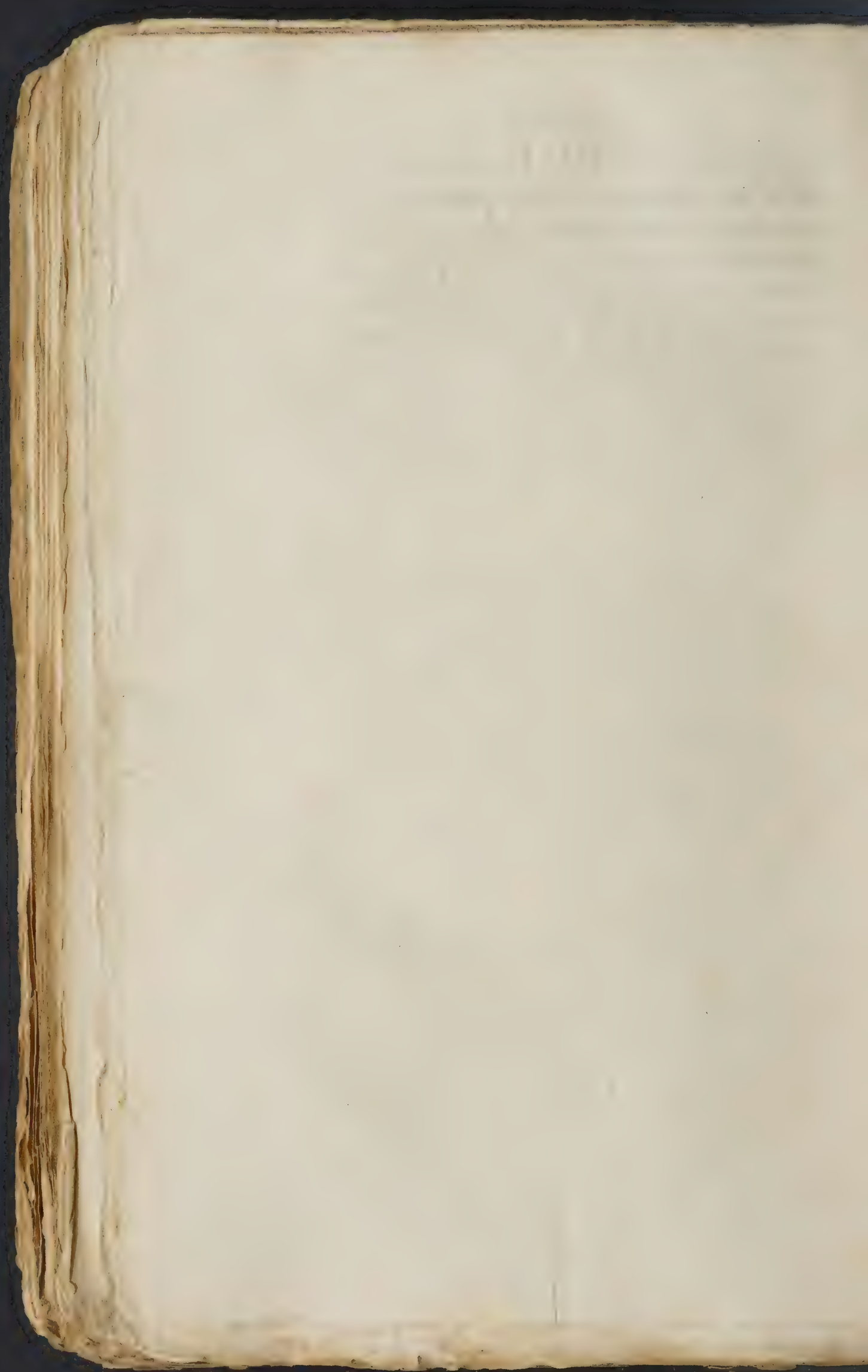
i. e. like a shadow: from the Greek † *σκια*.

The term Ewbryce from being thus frequently introduced, became in a manner a Saxon word: and we accordingly find in the Dictionaries of that language *Epbyrce*, *adulterium*. Also in Kersey, *Ewbrice*, *spousebreach*, *adultery*. But how came Chatterton by such obsolete and uncommon words? It may be said from these very Dictionaries. But

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccles. Wigorn. by Hearne, p. 521.

† See Hist. of Eng. Poetry, by Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 29.

can it be imagined, that by poaching and purloining in this abject manner, he composed these excellent poems? We may as well suppose, that a pedlar built York cathedral by stealing a tile, or a stone, in every parish that he passed through.



A C O M P A R I S O N

O F

ROWLEY'S POEMS with Compositions
of other Writers.

THUS have I endeavoured from the mistakes of the person, through whose hands we have received these poems, to shew, that he could not have been the author : and likewise from the internal evidence to prove, that they are of the antiquity supposed. Others have proceeded upon the same evidence, but in a different manner, in order to ascertain the direct contrary. They have taken notice of many words, which they think are no where else to be found : and of others, which, though they may be found, yet occur in a different acceptation. They likewise object to the rythm of Rowley, and to the harmony of his numbers, which they think too good and accurate for so early a date. I must confess, that I have had my scruples upon this head : and my suspicions

E c 4 were

were increased by the authority of those persons, among whom these doubts prevailed. For they were gentlemen of uncommon learning, to whose opinion I could not help paying a very great regard. But when upon a proper inquiry I perceived, that many of these terms, which seemed to be single and unsupported, were elsewhere to be found; that their purport could be fairly ascertained, and the supposed anomalies accounted for; I was obliged to suppress my scruples, and withdraw my former objections. And as to the arguments founded on the rythm and harmony of the verses, they appeared to me to be very precarious, and by no means to deserve the attention, which people were pleased to pay to them. In every age there will be a difference among writers; and whatever number of poets there may be found, it is a great chance, but there will be some one person more eminent than the rest. And though from the texture of a poem, and the mode of composition, and more especially from the language, a notion concerning its age may be formed; yet nothing certain can be determined: and we are liable to be greatly deceived. And this will particularly happen, when we apply to words, and sentences: and even when we form our opinion from detached portions of a poem. Also when we
compare

compare any composition with another of the same or a prior age, we are still likely to be mistaken: for the difference subsisting is not always a difference resulting from time, but often from situation, taste, and judgment.

Many have maintained, that if these poems were of the date supposed, and if poetry had been so much improved, it would never have fallen off afterwards: as there would have been a standard for future composition. The lines in Rowley for the most part terminate with the true accent: and seldom close with words of three or four syllables, as is observable in other poets of that century. This excellence, say they, being once established, would have been copied by subsequent writers. But herein, I think, there is much uncertainty: and whoever proceeds upon these principles, may form a very wrong judgment: for this rule of determination is certainly very precarious. To evidence, what is here mentioned, I will lay some particular examples of poetry before the reader.

There be two stout sons of Æacus,
 Fierce Peleus, and the hardie Telamon:
 Both seeming now full glad, and joyous,
 Through the Syre's dreadfull jurisdiction:
 Being the judge of all th' horrid house:
 And both of them by strange occasion,
 Renown'd in choyse of happie marriage,
 'Through Venus' grace and virtue's carriage.

These

These verses are manifestly very rough, and void of good rythm: at the same time they certainly terminate in an unpleasing manner. Let us now subjoin some of a different cast.

O flocks, O fauns, and O ye plesaunt streams
Of Tempe, where the country nymphs are rife,
Through whose not costly care each shepherd sings
As merrie notes upon the rusticke fife
As that Ascræan bard, whose fame now rings
Through the wide world ——

Let us add to these a few more of the same turn and cadence.

Ah, weladay, there is no end of payne,
Nor change of labour may intreated be:
Yet I beyond all these am carried far,
Where other pow'rs far different I see,
And must pass over to the Elysian plain, &c.

At what intervals were these different samples first produced; and who were the writers, that composed them? By those, who were not before acquainted with them, it may be supposed, that there was a century and an half between them. No: they were of the same age, and from the same poet: and make a part of the same * poem. I mention this to shew, that, though there may be examples given, and a kind of standard formed; yet the whole will be sometimes but

* Virgil's Gnat, by Spencer.

partially,

partially, at other times not at all, observed. For if we find this difference in one and the same person, we must expect to meet with it among different people, and at different times.

It is not therefore an infallible way of proceeding to determine concerning one composition by another : nor must we uniformly suppose, because a writer may be in some degree smooth and easy, that he must necessarily be of modern date. There are many passages in Spencer, which have a very obsolete appearance, far beyond the age of the poet. Both the terms, and the phrases, of which he often makes use, also the manner of arrangement, and the turn of his versification, afford evidence of this. Yet all his poetry has not this antique cast ; nor has the poetry of the times : and there are to be found verses somewhat prior, which one would imagine were the produce of a much later æra. To this purpose I will beg leave to introduce a curious example : but I will first begin with some verses from Spencer.

The soveraine of the seas he blames in vain
That once seabeat will to sea again.
So loytring live you little heard-groomes,
Keeping your beasts in the budded broomes,
And when the shining sunne laugheth once,
You deemen the spring is come attonce :
Tho ginne you fond flies the cold to scorn,
And crowen in pipes made of greene corne,

You thinke to be lordes of the yeere,
 And este when ye count you freed from feare,
 Comes the breme winter with chamfred browes,
 Full of wrinces and frostie furrowes.

Spencer's Shep. Calend. Pastoral 4.

Let me now subjoin some verses of a different nature from another writer.

The Almighty mind, that reigneth Three in one,
 Disposing all things from his stable throne,
 Beheld the earth, and man among the rest,
 Moved by the crie of such as were oppress'd.
 But when he had the continent through viewd
 With mawmetrie and idol blood embrew'd,
 Where through his law and gospel were defiled,
 His love, his awe, his worship, quite exil'd:
 He turn'd his face from that so foul a sight,
 And toward the isles he cast his look aright:
 In hope, that where religion did abound,
 He should some lovelier sight have quickly found.
 But when he saw all sins, most vile and naught,
 Most rifely swarm where most his word was taught,
 In England chief, where he of special grace
 Had chose to be his church and gospel place;
 And had for that cause pour'd on it such store
 Of wealthy gifts, as none could wish for more,
 Join'd with a king of such a godly mind,
 As never eers he ever had assign'd,
 All woe and wrath he turn'd away his face, &c.

These verses might pass for a composition of the present times, did we not know precisely, when they were composed and printed. They are some years prior to the verses of Spencer, with which they are contrasted, having been published by the learned author
 near

near two hundred and thirty years ago. They are therefore more ancient than any thing published by the celebrated poet of that age : yet from their smoothness, rythm, and language, one might be led to imagine, that they were at least a century posterior. They might indeed be fairly taken for a work of the present * age.

To these let me subjoin an extract from some excellent verses composed by Sir Henry Lea, Master of the Armoury to Queen Elizabeth, which I take the liberty to copy from some of those curious fragments of antiquity preserved by the honourable Mr. Walpole. Sir Henry had promised to appear in arms, and perform his duty every year in honour of her Majesty ; unless sickness or age should prevent him. Accordingly in the 33d year of her reign he made his appearance ; but finding himself too much impaired by time for such rough encounters, he paid his duty in another manner : and among other things he composed some verses, of which the following stanzas were a chief part.

My helmet now shall make an hive for bees ;
 And lovers songs shall turne to holy psalms :
 A man at armes must now sit on his knees,
 And feed on prayers, that are old ages almes.

* They are extracts from a poem composed by Sir John Cheeke, upon the death of King Edward the Sixth ; and printed 1553.

And

And so from court to cottage I depart :
My faint is sure of my unspotted hart.

And when I sadly sit in homely cell,
I'll teach my swaines this carrol for a song ;
Blest be the hearts, that thinke my soveraigne well ;
Curs'd be the foules, that thinke to do her wrong.
Goddesse, vouchsafe this aged man his right ;
To be your beadsman now, that was your knight.

If excellence betokens newness, these verses should have been of far later date, than is presumed. But we know for certain, that they were composed, and set to music, as early as the year 1591 : and were part of an address to Queen Elizabeth, when Sir Henry Lea made his annual appearance in compleat armour before * her. He was contemporary with Spencer ; on which account I bring these verses as a contrast to those of that poet, which I quoted above.

I cannot forbear introducing some further passages from poems ; and this in order to shew, that we may find compositions still more ancient ; which are tolerably harmonious ; and also very intelligible : while others of far later date have a more antique appearance, and are difficult to be understood. The first instance shall be from the well known Scottish poem upon Sir William Wal-

* See Miscellaneous Antiquities, or, a Collection of Curious Papers, &c. N^o 1. p. 45. printed at Strawberry Hill, 1772.

lace. It is composed in the provincial dialect; but attended with very little obscurity. The hero is introduced as retiring into a wood, and there blaming himself for having by some misconduct brought his companions into a state of distress.

Out of thair fight into ane forest fyde
 He set him doun under ane aik to byde.
 His bow and sword he leynit to ane tre,
 In anguisch greit: on * grouf than turnit he.
 This piteous mane was for his men sa wrocht,
 That of him self lytill thing than he rocht.
 O wretche, he said, that never couth be content,
 Of † our greit micht, that the greit God the lent.

* * * * *

Far worthier, than I of birth was borne,
 Throwe my defyre for hunger ar forlorne;
 I ask at God, tham to restore again:
 I am the caus, I suld have all the pane. l. 12. p. 170.

I will beg leave to introduce some more lines from another part of the same poem.

On Wallace set ane bicker bauld and kene,
 Ane bow, he bair, was big and weill befene;
 And arrowis als baith lang and schairp with aw,
 Na man thair was, that Wallace bow micht draw.
 Richt stark he was, and in full fouer geir,
 Baldlie he schot amang thay men of weir.
 Ane angill heid unto the huikis he drew;
 † Syne at ane schot the foremost sone he flew.

L. 4. p. 29.

These verses were the composition of a person stiled Blind Harry, in the reign of Ed-

* On his face.

† Your.

‡ Then.

ward

ward the Fourth of England, and James 3^d of Scotland. I will now subjoin a sample of later date from a celebrated author of the same country. He is speaking of the evil in the world; and the variety of wretchedness, which every where appears.

The railzeare rekkinis na wourdis, bot ratlis furth ranys.

Ful rude and ryot refouns bayth roundalis and ryme.
Swengeouris and skuryvagis swankys and swanys,
Gevis na cure to cun craft, nor comptis for na cryme,
Wyth beirdis as beggaris, thocht byg be thare banys.
Na labour list thay luke tyl, thare luffis are bierd lyme:
Get ane bismare ane barne, than al hyr blys gane is,
Sche wyl not wyrk thocht sche want, bot waistis hir tyme,

In thigging, as it thryft war, and uthir vane thewis.

Prologue of Gawin Douglas to the 8th Book of *Æneis*.

Who would imagine that these verses were many years posterior to those, which were quoted above? It may be said, that the former have probably suffered some alteration. It may be so: but we have no intimation of any such change: and if there has been; Rowley may have been altered in the same manner: so that we must make the same allowance to one, as we do to the other. As to the poem of Blind Harry, the copy from which I quote, has been printed an hundred and eighty years: which gives a tolerable antiquity to the language. But the poem
itself

itself is supposed to be an hundred and twenty or thirty years more * ancient. We know for certain that it was far prior to the verses, with which it is above compared.

I have other examples to produce, which are still more to the purpose. In these there will necessarily be found some tincture of the times: yet the lines are very clear and intelligible. They have nothing in their composition, which is stiff and unnatural: but the true order of the words is properly preserved; and the whole is attended with a rythm and harmony, far beyond what might be expected. I shall more readily make some extracts from the poems, to which I allude, as they are of the age of Rowley: and they are likewise written in the kind of stanza, which is often made use of by him.

The words of Grace to the sick soul by
way of warning.

The byrd, that syngeth on the braunche so hye,
And sheweth hymself a lusty jolyvet,
Unto the deth is smyten sodenly,
Er he be ware, or taken with a net.
I hane the fay'd, how deth the hath asslet,
And wel nigh undermined is thy wal:
But thou beware: ful grevous is thy fall.

* Some have referred it to the year 1361; but this cannot be true.

Two stanzas upon the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, who is compared to a branch. The words supposed to be sung by Angels.

A blessed floure out of this spray shall sprynge,
 The fruyte shalle be ful ryche and precious;
 A cause have we to joyen and to synge,
 In honoure of that Mayden gracious,
 That greate comfort shalle causen unto us,
 For now shall fast oure company encrees,
 And God with man shalle make a fynal pees.

Of the W E L L of L I F E.

Oute of this wel so noble lycour ran,
 So fayre, so freshe, so lusty hony-swete,
 That sythe the first day (that) the world began,
 With such a welle myght never no man mete.
 All hevynes and malicé ie foryete.
 As toward man excused clene is he. (*i. e.* Christ.)
 Honoured be the blessed Trynityte.

A stanza in the Song of Grace, who is speaking to the Pilgrim.

Now chese thy port, of which thou wilt arrive.
 But two ther ben; of solace, and dystresse.
 At one thou myght thy selven kepe alyve;
 And ever abyde in joye and lustynesse.
 That other port is care and wretchednesse.
 Here cometh deth; and if that he the smyte,
 There nys no leche, that can thy lyf respyte.

Grace

Grace speaks again, and says—

How oft (en) time have I the told, and taught
The worthynesse of vertu and the mede?

How oft have I the from the clutches caught
Of Sathanas? yet takest thou no hede.

But now beware; and not withouten nede.

For sykerly the bowe is bent ful fore

To smyten the: then may I doo no more.

It is objected to Rowley, that many of his lines, if they were written as we spell now, would be found to differ very little from the language of the present times. How many verses are there among those, which I have quoted above, that would have the same appearance: and yet we are certain of their antiquity? For they were printed near three hundred years ago: and the person, who either composed, or translated them, must have been still prior: so that we may fairly rate him as a contemporary with Rowley. They may therefore serve to take off many objections made to the compositions in question; especially when it is urged, that they sometimes want the true stamp of antiquity.

The following lines are as liable to be excepted to as any in Rowley; if a modern cast be an exception. They might easily be put into a new dress: though I think, that they scarcely stand in need of it.

Thou, Lucifer, that lyest in hell ybounde;

That whylome was one of our company:

This mayden shalle the utterly confound.

F f 2

Again

Again in another place.—

I have been wyth the, when thou knew it not :
How oft(en) have I warned the bifore :
Somewhile aperte (and) fomewhile prively ?

I have produced these extracts, together with those which preceded, to shew, how liable we are to be mistaken, when we judge too peremptorily from style; and determine from thence the age of a composition. The verses above for language, and rythm, are far superior to any thing in Skelton: nor do they betray a greater shew of antiquity than many lines in Spencer, who was a century posterior. There is therefore nothing said against Rowley, which might not be urged against these; did we not know their antiquity. This proves, that objections of this nature are not well founded; for we are morally certain, that these poems are genuine: and we can form some judgment of their age from the time when they were printed. The same antiquity may be therefore allowed to Rowley. The examples, which I have quoted, are extracts from sacred hymns interspersed in a book stiled *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*. It is a translation from a French treatise: and was printed by Caxton at Westminster, anno 1483. The stanzas quoted are to be found, fol. 31. fol. 100. fol. 103. and fol. 19, and 20. They are written in the same kind

kind of stanza, as the Elinpore and Juga of Rowley; and the eccellente Balade of Charitie. Some poems of Rowley are composed in the octave stanza: others consist of ten lines; as is observable for the most part in *Ælla*, and the *Eclogues*, and the two *Battles of Hastings*. This last measure seems to be that, which was called *Rythme Royal*; and could not but be well known in the times of which we have been treating: as the Italians extended their stanzas to this length, and sometimes much beyond it. *Rithme royal is a verse of ten syllables: and ten such verses make a staffe* *. Gascoigne.

Other OBJECTIONS answered.

It is farther said of these poems, that as they in some places seem too modern; so at other times they have a shew of too great antiquity. For they often abound with terms uncommon and obsolete; many of which are not to be found in the writings of that, or the preceding, age. The reason of this was probably, because the author was fond of ancient lore: much of which he seems to have industriously adopted. He

* See Hist. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharson, vol. ii. p. 165.

was moreover a provincial writer : and provincial terms are local : and we must not wonder, if they are not to be found among those, who wrote in the capital, and addressed themselves to the court. And this is not peculiar to Rowley : the like is to be observed in Robert of Gloucester ; as well as in Robert Langelande of Cleyberie. The same difference is to be also found in various manuscripts. As to the last mentioned person, who was the author of the Ploughman's Crede, and Vision, he is as much upon the extremes as Rowley. For he is not only in respect to diction as ancient, a circumstance we might well expect ; but oftentimes as modern, though a century before him. But though he abounds with antique terms, yet his diction is clear, and his words flow for the most part in their natural order ; and his arrangement in most instances varies very little from that, which is in use at this day. His lines are often extended to fifteen syllables : but generally are fewer, and the metre is a kind of imperfect anapæstic measure, attended with an uniform alliteration. I will give a sample of some of the verses, where the poet represents himself as taking a view of Nature, which he calls *Kind*.

And slepyng I se all thys, and sythen came Kind
 And named me by my name, and bad me nimen hede,
 And

And through the wonders of this world wyt to take :
And on a mountain in the mydle erth hight as me
thought

I was fette forth by ensamples to know,
And through ech creature, and kynd, my creatour to
love.

I se the sunne and the sea, and the sonde after,
And where the brydes and beastes by her makes they
* yeden

Wyld wormes in woodes and wonderful fowles.

* * * * *

Byrdes I beheld, that in bushes made nestes ;

Had never wyghte wytte to worke the leste.

I had wonder at whom and where the pie learned
To lygge the stickes, in which she layeth and breadeth.
Nys wryght, as I wene, could worch her nest to pay.

* * * * *

And yet me marvelled more, howe many other birds

Hydden and † hylden her egges full derne

In maryes and mores, for men should hem not find :

And hydden her egges, whan they therfro went,

For fear of other fowles, and for wylde beastes.

* * * * *

And sithen I loked on the sea, and so forth on the
starres

Many ‡ felkouthes I see, but not to || se now.

I see floures in the frythe and her fayre colours,

And how among the grene grasse growed so many huis,

And some sour and some swete ; felkought me thought :

Of her kindes and of her coloures to carp it were long.

Ploughman's Vision, fol. 58.

In another place the happy consequences of
a good conscience, and the many evils which
ensue from vice, are finely described.

* Go with their mates in pairs. † Covered.

‡ Wonderful things.

|| Not to say, or mention at this season.

Antichrist had thus sone hundreds at his banner,
 And Pride it bare boldly about, where he * yede,
 With a lord, that liveth after the likinge of his body,
 That came against conscience, that keper was and
 gydour:

Over kind christen and cardinall vertues.

I counsel, quoth Conscience, come with me soles
 Into unitye of holy church, and hold we us there,
 And cry we to Kind, that he come and defend us :
 And cry we to all the commune, that they come to
 unitye

And there abyde and † biker against Belial's children.
 Kind conscience † tho heard, and came out of the
 planettes

And sent forth his forriours, fevers and fluxes,
 Coughes and cordiacles, crampes and toth-aches
 Reumes and radgondes, and raynous scalles,
 Byles and botches, and burnynge agues,
 Freneses, and foul evill, foragers of Kinde,
 That largely a legion losten their lives sone.
 There was harow and helpe, here commeth Kinde,
 Wyth death, that is dreadful to undone us all.

* * * * *
 Age, the hoore, he was in the vawward,
 And bare the banner before death; by right he it
 claimed.

Kinde came after with manye kene sores,
 As pockes and pestilences, and much puple shent,
 So kind through corruptions killed full many.
 Death came dryving after and all to dust pashed
 Kynges and Kayfers, Knyghtes and Popes,
 Learned, ne § lewed, he ne let no man stande.
 That he hitte even, he never stode after.
 Many a lovely lady, and the lemmans of knightes,
 Swoned and sweltered for sorow of deathes dints.

* Went. † Fight. ‡ Then. § Laymen.

Conscience

Conscience of his curtesye to Kynd then besought
 To cease and to suffer, and se whether they woulde
 Leave pryde privelye, and be persite christen :
 And pryde ceased tho, to se the people amende.
 Fortune gan flatteren then the fewe, that were alive,
 And hight hem long life : and lechery she sent
 Amonge all maner of men, wedded and unwedded,
 And gathered a greate hoste all against conscience.
 This lecherye leyed on with a laughing chere,
 And with a privye speach and painted wordes ;
 And armed him in idleness and in highe bearynge.
 He bare a bowe in his hand : and many blouddy arrows
 Were feathered with fair beheft and many a false
 * truth.

Ploughman's Vision, fol. 62.

There is high colouring in these verses, and a vein of good poetry. Milton was acquainted with their excellence : for he has borrowed from one part of them ; as may be seen in the twelfth book of his principal poem. We may observe, that the words are for the most part placed in their natural order : and the rythm is as just, and the lines flow as smoothly, as any where in Rowley : yet this composition, as far as we can judge, was a century prior.

Many however, who are admirers of these poems, still insist, that arts take up time to come to maturity ; and that poetry must proceed by degrees towards excellence. It there-

* Truth and troth signified a promise.

fore could not at so early a period have arrived at this degree of perfection. But this is mere matter of opinion, and by no means well founded. There was time sufficient for a proper progress in science: and in consequence of it, a regular course of improvement. This may be seen, if we carry our views backward from the writings of Robert of Gloucester down to those of Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer, and so onward in a series to Occleve and Rowley. There is nothing so surprising in the pre-eminence of this last person among his compeers, as not to be found in the character of * Josephus Iscanus, who was for Latin verse full as extraordinary in his time. The English began to have great helps towards improvement in the times of Lydgate and the writers above mentioned. They had commenced an acquaintance with the Roman poets; but more particularly with the Italians: to which last they looked up as to models of taste: and whose works they copied, and translated at large. Dante and Petrarch are often mentioned by them: and the metre, in which they wrote, and particularly their stanzas, shew, that they closely copied the Italians. This

* He lived and flourished before the year 1200, and after, in the reigns of King Richard the First, and King John.

leads me to consider an exception made to the poems in question on account of the excellent rythm, with which they are for the most part attended; and of the true accent, which the author has preserved in his terminations: there not being that undue stress laid on final syllables, as is to be found among other writers. It is to be observed, that when our poets began to be acquainted with the writers of Italy, they unhappily copied them with too little reserve, in concluding their lines with words of many syllables. This, however admissible among the Italians, our language would not bear: and the harmony of our verse was in great measure ruined by it. Yet the mode of writing was followed more or less from Gower and Lydgate down to Fairfax and Spencer. How closely it was copied by Lydgate, may be seen in every page; or to say the truth in every stanza. Of this we may have an example in the very first, which occurs in his poem of the Fall of Princes.

Whan John Bochas confideryd had and fought
 The woful falle of myghty conquerours
 A remembraunce entryd in his thought
 Recknyng the nombre of oure predeceffoures
 And first to mynd came the progenitoures
 Of all mankynd. Far I ranne in age,
 And towarde him holdynge their passage.

In

In some stanzas every line terminates in this unpleasing manner. Thus, where he is mentioning the happiness of our first parents in Paradise, he describes it in the following manner.

And of their blisse to make mention,
And of their joyes, that were celestial,
There may be made no comparison
Of no joy, that is temporal,
Which shulde have be lastyng and immortal,
Evir to have lyvyd in myrth and gladnesse,
Save ageyn reason of very wilfulnesse.

This mode of writing was undoubtedly more or less followed for a long time. Yet is there any thing extraordinary in a person of a good ear and taste, deviating from this manner of composition, and following better examples? People have imagined, that all writers in these early times were equally void of rhythm. But this is a great mistake. In the extracts from *Pierce Plowman* (it matters not what the measure is) a just cadence is generally maintained; and the true accent preserved upon the terminating syllable. Robert of Gloucester was no poet, but a mere versifyer: yet he had taste enough to be somewhat cautious about the polysyllabic * clo-

* He sometimes admits it, when he is giving a list of places. When he ends with words of two syllables, there is reason to think, that in those times the accent was upon the last; though it may have been since removed backward.

sure.

sure. It is to be found oftener in ten lines of Lydgate, Gower, and even of Spencer, than in an hundred of this writer. Hence we may perceive, that this mode of proceeding in Rowley was not new : though he has certainly improved upon those, who went before him. I will produce an example to this purpose : by which it will appear, that writers very early knew how to keep up the natural arrangement of their sentences, and to terminate their lines without any unnatural force in pronunciation. The verses, which I quote, are from Robert of Gloucester, and from the very beginning of his Chronicle.

Engelond ys a wel god lond, ich wene of eche lond
best.

Yfet in the ende of the world, as al in the west.

The see goth hym al a boate : he stont as an yle.

Here fon heo durre the lasse doute, but his be thorw
gyle.

Of fol of the felve lond, as me hath y feye wyle,

From south to north he ys long eigte hondred myle.

And four hondred myle brod from est to west to wende,

Amydde the lond as yt be, and nogt as by the on ende.

Plente me may in Engelond of alle gode y se,

Bute sole yt for gulte othe geres the worse be.

For Engelond ys ful ynow of fruyt and of tren,

Of woodes and of parkes, that joye yt ys to sen.

Of foules and of bestes of wylde and tame also :

Of salt fisch and eche fresch, and fayre ryveres ther to.

Of welles swete and cold ynow, of lesen and of mede,

Of selver and of gold, of tyn, and of lede.

Of stel, of yrn, and of bras, of god corn gret won,

Of whyte and of wolle god, betere ne may be none.

Wateres

Wateres he hath eke gode y now, ac before alle other
thre,

Out of the lond into the see, armes as thei be.

Ware by the schippes nowe come fro the se and wende
And brynge on londe god y now a boutte in eche ende.

Severne and the Temese, Humber yt ys the thridde,
And then ys, as we seith, the pure lond a midde.

The language in this extract must necessarily be obsolete; as the person, by whom it was composed, lived an hundred years before Lydgate, and near two hundred before * Rowley. At the same time there are no pretensions to poetry. Yet we may perceive, that the lines flow more equably and smoothly, than in many poets of later date. The like may be observed in many poems of these times, and even before; when we were as yet unacquainted with the Italians. Many of those, who composed stanzas, wrote with great ease; and for the most part made their rhymes correspond with the true accent of the terminating words. This will appear from many extracts to be found in Mr. Whar-

* He must have flourished between the years 1260 and 1270, as he makes mention of the battle of Evesham in the reign of King Henry the Third; and of the uncommon darkness, which then prevailed, and of which he was an eye witness.

— this isei Roberd,

That verst this boc made, and was wel fore aferd.

p. 560.

The Battle of Evesham was in the year 1265.

ton,

ton, if we look into his first and second sections concerning the history of English Poetry: from whence I will take the liberty of borrowing the following example. It appears, as we are told, to have been written by a lover in a walk near Peterborough about the year 1200, and as I should judge in autumn.

Now * skruketh rose and lylie flour,

That † whilen ber that suete favour,

In somer, that ‡ suete tyde:

Ne is no quene so || stark ne stour,

Ne no luedy so bryit in bour,

That ded ne shal by glyde.

Whoso wol fleshye lust for-gon and hevene blisse abyde,

On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that § tharled was ys fide.

p. 30.

We have examples to the same purpose in the opposite page, but in a different measure. A lover addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl—

* Skruketh. fadeth: dieth. Skrokr, cadaver. skrokr-man, cadaver hominis. Olaus. Verelius.

† That whilom, or one while, bore that sweet favour. Savour comes from the French, *saveur*. Savour, honour, favour, and other words of the same analogy, borrowed from France, had in these times the accent uniformly upon the last syllable.

‡ Suete tyde: *pleasant season*.

|| Stark and stour signify *hale* and *strong*. From stour comes the word *sturdy*, used at this day.

§ Tharled, the same as *thrilled*: pierced.

* Bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde.

When the nytenhale singes, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and blosme, springes in Avril y wene.

These things I have mentioned, that people may not imagine, that Rowley had no patterns to follow but Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer: and that he must necessarily have formed his style by them if he had written, what is attributed to him. But there were many writers prior to these; and some, that were contemporaries, who were not perhaps so good poets, yet wrote with more ease; and preserved the harmony of the language: which Lydgate and Gower seem greatly to have injured. It is a great mistake, to think, that Rowley was the first, whose rhymes were just; and whose verses were smooth and natural. In proof of this I beg of any one to consult the history of English Poetry by Mr. Wharton. Let him particularly consider the extracts from the life of St. Margaret and St. Swithen, vol. i. p. 13. 15. both of great antiquity. The poem also called Vernon's Soulehele is worth his notice, p. 101. which begins—

Our lady and her sifter stood under the rood.

* They are supposed to be the product of the thirteenth century, and to have been composed towards the beginning of it.

or

or as it is expressed in the original

Oure Ladi and hire suster stoden under the roode.

See also the Love-song—

Blow, northerne wynd; * sent

Thou me my suetyng: blow

Northerne wynd, &c.

Ich † ot a burde in boure bryte

That full seemly is on fyht.

p. 26.

See also, p. 32. and all the poems before the year 1200. If we are not prejudiced by the obsoleteness of the terms, and the seeming uncouthness of the spelling, we shall find, that they shew greater ease, a better flow, and terminate more truly, than those, which were an hundred, and an hundred and fifty years after. The writers, who immediately succeeded, have the same excellence. The language of times so remote must necessarily have some tincture of antiquity: otherwise, in respect to versification, what can be easier than the following lines? They are taken from the Squire of Low Degree, a Romance in verse, attributed to the thirteenth century, and alluded to by Chaucer. The daughter of a King of Hungary is represented as opening her chamber window in a morning, and listening to the squire's complaint.

* For send.

† For got.

G g

That

* That Ladi herde hys mournynge alle,
 Ryght undir the chambre walle:
 In her † oryall ‡ there she was,
 Clofyd well with royall glas.
 Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery:
 Every windowe by and by
 On eche syde had ther a § gynne
 || Sperde with manie a dyvers pynne.
 Anone that ladie fayre and free
 Undyd a pynne of yvere,
 And wyd the wyndowes she open fet,
 The funne shonne yn at his ** clofet.
 In that arbre fayre and gaye,
 She sawe, where the squyre lay.

There are many of these ancient poems, of which if we alter the spelling, and reduce it to the present usage, the harmony of the lines will be more apparent. And this may be done without any force: and the verses will then appear more modern by some centuries, than we know them in reality to be. This may be tried, if we take some passages

* Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 175.

† A gothick, projecting window. There is in fortification a projecting work or casemate, called an orillon at this day.

‡ The same as *where*.

§ It signifies an opening, from *gin* and *ginn*, hiatus, intercapedo. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

|| From the verb *spar*, to fasten.

** By clofet here is meant a little close: a small portion of ground inclosed: which in the next line is explained by a bower, or arbour.

from

from the poem before mentioned. In this the King of Hungary is supposed to address and comfort his disconsolate daughter; and to make her many noble promises, in order to alleviate her sorrow. Among other things he tells her,

- * To morrow you shall a hunting fare,
And † yede, my daughter, in a chair.
It shall be covered with velvet red,
And cloth of gold, about your head;
With damask white, and azure blue,
Well diaper'd with lilies new.
Your mantel of rich degree,
Purple pall, and ermine ‡ free.
Jennets of Spain, that be so white,
Trapp'd to the ground with velvet bright.
You shall have psaltry, harp, and song,
And other mirthes you among.
You shall have Rumney, and Malespine,
Both Hippocras and vernage wine, &c.

* The original is as follows :

To morow ye shall yn huntynge fare,
And yede my doughter yn a chare.
Yt shal be coverd wyth velvette reade,
And clothes of (fyne) gold (al) about your hede
With damaske whyte, and azure blewe,
Wel dyaperd with lyllies new.
Your mantel of ryche degre,
Purple pall and armyne fre, &c.

† Go.

‡ By free is signified any thing genteel and liberal :
also any thing elegant and graceful.

When you come home your * menie among,
 You shall have revel, dance, and song,
 Little children, great and small,
 Shall sing, as doth the nightengale.
 Then you shall go to even-song
 With tenours and trebles among.
 Threescore copes of damask bright :
 Full of pearls they shall be † pyght.
 Your censers shall be of gold,
 Indent of ‡ azure many a fold, &c.

To your chamber they shall you bring
 With much mirth and more liking.
 When you are laid in bed so soft,
 A cage of gold shall hang aloft,
 With long pepper fair burning,
 And cloves, that be sweet smelling,
 Frankincense and Olibanum,
 That when you sleep, the § taste may come.
 And, if you no rest can take,
 || All night minstrels for you shall wake.

I quote these extracts to shew in general
 the justness of the terminations, the easy
 and natural flow of the verses, and the true

* Your family and friends : also your attendants and
 menial servants.

† Put, placed, or set.

‡ It seems to be lapis lazuli, which is here meant
 by azure. The censers were to be indented, or inlaid,
 with many little slabs of that blue stone. Azure also
 signified a dye or paint made of that mineral. Hence
 we read above of *damask white and azure blue* : i. e. a
 blue dye.

§ The flavour ; fragrance.

|| This poem is supposed to be written about the year
 1280, or 1290, at least before the end of that century.

order,

order, which is for the most part observable in the syntax. From hence we may learn, that Rowley had many examples to follow, far preferable for harmony either to Lydgate or Gower; though a great many years before them. To prove this preference, let me by way of contrast produce some lines of Gower; who is supposed to have been a century and an half later: and that I may not be thought to pick out the very worst, I will take the first, which occur in the very beginning of his poem; and conclude with the last.

I maye not stretche uppe to the heven
Myn honde, ne set al in even
This worlde, which ever is in balaunce:
It stant not in my suffisaunce,
So great thinges to compasse,
But I mote lette it over passe,
And treaten upon other thynges,
For thy the style of my wrytinges
Fro this day forth I thynke (to) chaunge, &c. L. i.

How little he changed his style for the better, may be seen from the last paragraph at the end of the same poem: for I will make my quotations from the two extremes.

And nowe to speke as in fynalle
Touchende that I undertook,
In Englyshe for to make a boke,
Whiche stant betwene ernest and game,
I have it made, as thylke same,
Whiche aske for to be excused,
And that my boke be not refused.

Of lered men, when they it se
 For lacke of curyosyte.
 For thylke scole of eloquence
 Belongeth not to my scyence,
 Upon the forme of rhetorike
 My wordes for to peynte and pyke.

Confess. Amant. p. ult.

These lines bear sufficient marks of antiquity; yet in some of these ancient writings the phrases appear so trite, and common, and the whole turn of the language is of so modern a cast, that we can hardly persuade ourselves that they can be of the age, or from the author to which they are referred. Such is the following expression of a man in doubt; who is made to say, *Myn eie I caste all aboute to knowe, amonge hem, who is who.* In another place we find a description given of an ancient philosopher, to the following purport. *He *fonde the nature of every element: their kindly workynge, and their mutations: the course of starres; and of the firmamente: their influences; their dispositions; their aspects, and their conjunctions; wrote in pillers devised of metal, &c.* Alter the spelling in two or three places, and the lines will appear as modern, as any of the present century. Nay, they might be produced as having been written yesterday. But it may be said, that these are not poetry. Certainly not: and

* For found, discovered.

perhaps,

perhaps, properly speaking, not verse : yet they were designed for both : and this will appear, when I assure the reader, that the first quotation is from * Gower, and the other from † Lydgate. Though I have written them quite at length, and not introduced either of them as verse, nor the latter quotation as part of a stanza, yet the several parts were designed to correspond, and to rhyme ; two circumstances, which if I had not thus noticed, the reader would hardly have found out.

When therefore we dwell upon detached pieces, and judge of the whole from a part, we are liable to be greatly deceived ; let those pieces be either bad or good. For writers are not uniform, and consistent. As a proof of this I will produce some passages from the last rough poet, that I mentioned : which passages will be found not only of as modern an appearance, but also as smooth and as poetical, as any made at this day. Of this the following lines will afford us an example.

‡ Like as the dewe descendeth on the rose
With sylver drops.

* Confessio Amantis. L. viii. p. 187.

† Fall of Princes. Fol. 7. a.

‡ From Lydgate's Life of our Lady. See Hist. of English Poetry by Mr. Wharton, vol. ii.

Also these upon the passion of our Saviour.

* When he of purple did his baner sprede
On Calverye abroad upon the rode
To save mankynde. *ibid.*

To these may be added the following instances
from the same writer.

Out of the slepe of mortal heavinesse
Awake anon, and look upon the light.

Again :

And he, who made the high and cristal heven,
The firmament, and also every sphere.

All the lines above quoted have a very modern appearance; yet they were many years prior to the most early compositions of Rowley.

I mention these things to shew, that we may often be mistaken about the date of a writing, when either its excellency or inferiority is made a test of its age. A poem must not be denied its just claim to antiquity, because in many places it maintains some portion of harmony. There is not a line in Rowley, which appears more liable to exception, than one, which I have quoted above from the *Pylgrimage of the Soul*; yet we know that it was printed near three hundred years ago: and may have been composed much earlier.

For now shall fast our company encrease,
And God with man will make a final peace.

* *Ibid.*

We

We may likewise be deceived by familiarity of expression : and when we read of a person's turning his eyes about to see *who is who*, little think, that it is an expression of four hundred years standing.

It is often asked, *if these poems are genuine ; how came they to be so long secreted from the world ?* It may not perhaps be easy to give a determinate answer. But what does this amount to ? The only rational inquiry to be made is, whether they were really secreted. Of this circumstance, I think, we may be assured. Indeed there would never have been the least doubt concerning the external evidence, had it not been for a supposed failure in the internal. We may not be able to account any more for these *Miss.* being so long neglected, than for those of Hesychius, Phædrus and Velleius Paterculus, having been in the same situation. Urns with ancient coins have been lost to the world for many centuries. People seldom ask, why they lay so long hid : it is sufficient, that they are at last discovered. And after all, what a number of manuscripts are there of the same nature in the Bodleian, and other libraries ; also in the British Museum, which lie in a like state of oblivion, and are at this day utterly disregarded. It is to be observed, that there are strong marks of party in these poems.

In

in one of the eclogues Elinoure says to Juga,

O, maie ne fanguen fleine the whyte rose peyncte.

p. 19. v. 10.

In other parts a contrary attachment is discernable. Now it is very possible, when the house of Lancaster regained the throne, in the person of Henry the Seventh, who had married the heiress of the house of York, that all writings, which had shewn a disaffection to either side, were, for prudential reasons, suppressed. And as the writings in question were inclosed in a chest, and placed in an unfrequented tower, it might have been a long time before they were discovered; and still longer before they were examined and regarded. This indeed seems to have been the fact: and though many of the Mss. may have been lost, there are sufficient still remaining to attest this truth, that Mss. were deposited, and preserved in this manner. For a number of parchments still exist, and their being thus found is attested by evidence past contradiction.

I have mentioned, that there are strong marks of party in these poems. In consequence of this there are several delicate touches upon the times; many refined strokes and allusions; which, as I have before observed, could not have proceeded from the boy Chatterton. The excellent
Ballad

Ballad upon Charity is in great measure a satire upon a person, who was an Abbot of a rich convent, and a Lancastrian. There are in this poem many curious references to the manners of the age; there is likewise much pointed invective: which could never have come but from a person, who was a contemporary; from one, who both saw, and felt, what he described; and who wrote from the keenness of party. The *Storie of William Canynge* is written too much from the heart to be a forgery: so likewise is that of *Sir Charles Bawdin*. The author of this was certainly of the Lancastrian party: from whence I am confirmed in my opinion, that these poems are not all by the same hand. The language of this poem seems to have been by somebody altered, and put into a modern dress: but the groundwork is undoubtedly ancient.

I cannot conclude without mentioning a difficulty, which has arisen from some verses, said to have been sent to Rowley by John Lydgate: and which, on that account, are thought to be spurious. For Lydgate is supposed to have died too early for any such correspondence. Bale however says, that he flourished about the year 1440; and it is certain, that he lived some years afterwards. From hence we may learn, that the impossibility

bility of these two persons being acquainted is not justly determined. But let us consider the objection in another light. The verses are said to have been sent by John Lydgate, priest in London. Why must we take for granted, that this John Lydgate, priest of London, was the same as John Lydgate, who was a Benedictine Monk of Bury. Many have been searching into Lydgate's works of Bury, to find out the name of Rowley. They might just as well have looked into Fryar Bacon's Optics for the name of Lord Verulam. A priest of London could not be a monk of Bury; wherefore we may both from title and situation be assured, that notwithstanding the similarity of names they were two different persons.

It is often asked, how it came about, that Rowley is not mentioned by Bale. To this I can give no other answer, than that he was a recluse, and remote from the capital. I can give no reason, why Lucretius is not mentioned by Horace: nor for many omissions of the like nature. If Rowley is not mentioned by Bale, or by Lydgate, as some have surmised, that he should have been; Lydgate himself is not taken notice of by * Leland: which is far more extraordinary. For his works were in print in the time of

* Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis.

Leland : and it was the very purpose of that author to give an account of the celebrated English writers. I beg to know what person of the times has once mentioned Robert of Brunne, or Robert of Gloucester ? Both Bale and Leland have passed them by unnoticed. Why then should we be surprised, if they have omitted Rowley.

There is a circumstance more extraordinary to be observed concerning Leland. He was a first-rate antiquary ; and went over great part of England to make his observations upon cathedrals, abbies, priories, and other ancient buildings : and to commemorate the persons, by whom they were built or endowed. He dwells long upon Bristol, and speaks of its streets, bridges, churches, &c. He particularly mentions Redclyff Church : and styles it, * Redcliffe, longe pulcherrima omnium Ecclesia. Yet in this recital he never makes the least mention of Canynge, who was the great benefactor of Bristol ; and the constructor of this very church.

* Vol. vii. p. 85. He occurs in a different place as Dean of Westbury.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Upon the real Poems of CHATTERTON, to
which he put his Name: of his Mistakes :
also of his Parts and Attainments, &c. &c.

ALSO,

OBSERVATIONS

Upon the Notion of some Third Person being
the Author.

I HAVE proceeded upon different grounds
in order to shew, that the poems of
Rowley are genuine: and that the person,
to whom they have been generally attribut-
ed, could not have been the author. It has
been my business to produce many ancient
terms, which he did not understand: many
remote and curious histories, with which he
could not have been acquainted. Some have

compared these poems with other productions of former times ; and have thought, that they were too smooth and too correct for the time to which they have been adjudged. I have endeavoured to take off that objection, by affording many instances of ancient poetry, which have as modern a cast : and which would be equally liable to these exceptions, if we were to proceed in this precarious and unjust mode of reasoning. After all, the surest way of judging, whether they were the compositions of this young man, would be to compare them with those, which he acknowledged as his own. Several of these poems in dispute were seen, when he was between fifteen and sixteen ; others somewhat later. Let us compare them with those which were made in his eighteenth year, and towards the close of his seventeenth ; to which we know, that he subscribed his name, and affixed the date : so that there can be no doubt about the true author, nor of the time of their publication. Two years make a great difference at this period of life. The mind improves in vigour and understanding, as much as the body does in stature and strength : and this is visible in all its operations. Let us then make an estimate of these different productions ; and see, whether the latter have that superiority over the former, which must
naturally

naturally be expected from the time of life, in which they were produced. If they were both by the same hand, as has been surmised, and maintained; the least that we can promise ourselves from his latest compositions must be, an equal degree of knowledge, the like marks of deep reading, and investigation, the same precision and accuracy, together with the true poetical fire, which had been exhibited before. Indeed we have a right to expect far more: but we will be content with this, if upon examination such an uniformity can be found.

In the collection printed in the name of * Chatterton, and attributed to him, as the undoubted author, there are to be found some compositions, which were produced in his seventeenth year; but the greater part in his eighteenth, after he was arrived in London. The most early of these are some poems, written in imitation of Ossian; which are pretended to have been of Saxon original. These are void of all propriety and order: and consist of the most wild and extravagant conceptions, attended with an unnatural pomp of words. They consist of similitudes without likeness; and comparisons void of all analogy. And throughout the whole, we

* Miscellanies in prose and verse, by Thomas Chatterton. London, 1778.

are not so much informed of what was done, as when and how it was performed : so that every trifling circumstance is set off with a mock representation. One of these poems is called Ethelgar, another Kenrick, another Cerdick ; and a fourth Godred Crovan. They are all in the same stile ; the nature of which the reader will perceive from the following sample. The lines are taken from the beginning of the poem, called Kenrick.

“ When winter yelled through the leafless
 “ grove, when the black waves rode over the
 “ roaring winds, and the dark-brown clouds
 “ hid the face of the sun ; when the silver
 “ brook stood still, and snow environed the
 “ top of the lofty mountain ; when the
 “ flowrets appeared not in the blasted fields,
 “ and the boughs of the leafless trees beat
 “ with the loads of ice : when the howling
 “ of the wolf affrighted the darkly glimmer-
 “ ing light of the western sky : Kenrick,
 “ terrible as the tempest, young as the snake
 “ of the valley, strong as the mountain of
 “ the slain, his armour shining like the stars
 “ in a dark night when the moon is veiled
 “ in fable, and the blasting winds howl over
 “ the wide plain ; his shield like the black
 “ rock, prepared himself for battle.” p. 11.

* March 1769.

This is the most licentious, and the most preposterous way of writing, that ever was introduced: where there is nothing so plain but must have its parallel: and where the main object is lost in illustration. These comparisons are often so wild and extravagant, as to be too ridiculous to merit animadversion. Thus he speaks of *sheep following the shepherd, as the beams of light attend upon the morning*. In another place he describes the wolf, that *fled, like a falling meteor, to the war*. Sometimes, we have our expectations suspended by a pompous address; and when we come to the ultimate, we are totally disappointed. Something of this sort we experience in the exhortation of Kenrick to his soldiers: *Ye, Saxons, who live in the air, and glide over the stars,—act like your selves*. p. 13. There is a remarkable instance to the same purpose in one of his eclogues, where there is a solemn invocation for a person to attend to a weighty truth: which at last turns out nothing at all.

He spoke, as evening thunders bursting near,

His horrid accents broke upon the ear.

Attend, Abraddas, with your sacred priest:

This day the sun is *rising in the east*,

The sun, which shall illumine all the earth—&c.

p. 62.

It may appear an invidious task, and it is certainly no pleasing one, to decry the com-

H h 2

positions

positions of an unfortunate young man ; and expose his mistakes to the world : but as there are persons, who rank his poems with those of Rowley, and think them equally excellent ; we have no way to take off this prejudice, but by shewing in this manner their great inferiority. Though he was pleased to say of himself, that *he had read more than Magliabecchi* : yet his reading was certainly scanty ; and confined in great measure to novels, and magazines, and the trash of a circulating library. Hence he had got by the help of memory, and a good ear, a flow of words ; but not an equal share of judgment and true knowledge. He had heard of the Saxons, and of the Danes : and had a notion, that the arrival of the former preceded that of the latter in this island : but at what interval he knew not. Hence a person, who is supposed to be fighting with the Danes, as late as the time of Alfred, is made contemporary with Hengist in the fifth century. —“ Turn to me, son of Lofgar, I am Se-gowald of the lake. Hast thou not heard of my fame in battle ? When the army of Hengist panted on the dark-brown heath, I cheered them to the war.” p. 54. This is represented as after the death of Hubba, consequently four hundred years and more from the invasion of Hengist. In all these compositions

compositions we may perceive, that he continually had Rowley in his view, and those poems, with which he was first acquainted. The same names occur, such as *Ælla*, *Tynian*, *Saint Cuthbert*, and *St. Cuthbert's shrine*: the same terms — the anlace, the sacred oak, the tall elm: also the same allusions, and comparisons; but sadly misapplied. He gives the names of Saxons to Britons; and makes *Edgar* fight with *Hengist*. p. 35.

The next compositions are two *African Eclogues*, published some months after those above, in the eighteenth and last year of his life. I am sorry, that I am obliged to say, that these, like the former, contain a mass of crude and indigested materials: and are void of all propriety and order. These are written in rhyme, and confined to measure; so that in this respect they differ from those before spoken of, in which there was a total deficiency of all rhythm and harmony. The scene is laid upon the coast of *Calabar*; of which part of the world he seems to be very ignorant: not being acquainted with the names of the principal places, with the customs and religion of the natives, nor with the produce of the country. Hence he has substituted a number of strange appellations, which his fancy in its wantonness suggested.

He speaks of spicy lawns, and sweet reeds :
and has introduced a river Togla and Toddida : and, what is more extraordinary, a Tiber ; on whose banks

—— The scarlet Jessamines bloom,
And purple aloes shed a rich perfume.

This African Tiber is said to run through
the deserts of Arabia.

—— Tiber, whose waters glide
In flow meanders down to Gaigra's side ;
And circling all the horrid mountain round,
Rushes impetuous to the deep profound, &c. &c.

* * * * *

Till born upon the pinions of the air,
Through the rent earth the bursting waves appear.
Fiercely propelled the whiten'd billows rise,
Break from the cavern, and ascend the skies :
Then lost and conquered by superiour force,
Through hot Arabia *holds* its rapid course. p. 61.

He mentions more than once the sacred
oak, and mystic trees : as if the rites of the
Druids were to be found upon the coast of
Guinea.

Like the loud eddies of Toddida's sea,
The warriors circle the *mysterious tree*. p. 58.

The flying terrours of the war advance,
And round the *sacred oak* repeat the dance. p. 57.

Swift from the branches of the *holy oak*
Horror, confusion, fear and torment broke. p. 62.

Speaking of a Negro woman he says,

Black was her face ——

Which

Which is surely an unnecessary truth : but in the wantonness of fancy he soon forgets himself, and mentions another, who is distinguished for the redness of her lips.

He saw and scattered poison in her eyes :
From limb to limb in varied forms he flies ;
Dwelt on her crimson lip. p. 65.

He speaks of a fleet of an Ynca called Rhadal, p. 59. But when was the name of Ynca heard upon the coast of Calabar ? For want of subject matter, he is often obliged to imitate his former transcripts ; and to indulge himself in simile and comparison. These similes are without number ; and at the same time ill-chosen, and attended with little conformity. Such is that which follows.

Strong was the passion of the son of Nair :
Strong as the tempest of *the evening air*.

But the strength of such a tempest must be attended with no great violence : for the *evening air* is generally the most mild of any.

But the reader will be best able to form a true idea of these compositions, by having a sample at large. The poet is speaking of an unknown Deity, whom he styles Chalma.

Chalma, whose excellence is known from far,
From Lupa's rocky hill to Calabar.
The guardian God of Afric and the isles,
Where Nature in her strongest vigour smiles.

Where the blue blossom of the forky thorn
 Bends with the nectar of the opening morn.
 Where ginger's aromatic matted root
Creep through the mead and up the mountains *shoot*.
 Three times the virgin swimming on the breeze
 Danced in the shadow of the mystic trees :
 Where like a dark cloud spreading to the view,
 The first-born sons of war and blood pursue.
 Swift as the elk they pour along the plain,
 Swift as the flying clouds distilling rain.
 Swift as the boundings of the youthful roe,
 They course around, and lengthen as they go.
 Like the long chain of rocks, whose summits rise
 Far in the sacred regions of the skies ;
 Upon whose top the blackning tempest lours,
 Whilst down its side the gushing torrent pours.
 Like the long cliffy mountains, which extend,
 From Lorbar's cave, to where the nations end.
 Which sink in darkness, thick'ning and obscure,
 Impenetrable, mystic, and impure—&c. p. 57.

The history of this young man, as a composer, seems to be this. He had a good ear, and an excellent capacity : by which means, when he had an opportunity of reading, he soon got a store of language ; and wrote with great fluency of expression. It was his misfortune not to meet with the helps, which he merited, in order to his being improved in science. Hence he never arrived at a just taste in poetry : and with the sublime, which he affected, he was totally unacquainted. However, though he failed in these points, yet upon common subjects, where nothing was requisite, but an easy and natural flow of words,

words, he wrote many things, which were by no means contemptible. One ode in particular must be reckoned for the time, when it was composed, a laudable performance. It is inscribed to Mr. Alcock, a miniature painter at Bath: and appears to have been written very early, when he was but just turned of sixteen. But compositions of this nature require no extensive reading; nor do they contain any extraordinary marks of genius. We find poems in the same strain accomplished by persons of little learning; and often by young ladies; who not being engaged in the study of the dead languages, gain an earlier intimacy with their own. In consequence of this we have many odes and epistles, which for ease and harmony are excellent: and they certainly merit our regard; as far as common-place sentiment, well expressed, can recommend them. They many times abound with happy turns, and pointed allusions; and from the wit and humour, which they display, cannot fail of being agreeable. But, as I before said, for the framing of such compositions, there is no need of any extraordinary parts; nor for any depth of erudition. A person may write volumes in this stile and taste, and never be a Rowley.

Allowing therefore to this young man all the parts, which his most sanguine friends
would

would ascribe to him; yet those parts had been but poorly cultivated; and he had little or no share of true learning. In none of the compositions published as his own, is there any display of reading: no sign of his having been acquainted with the abstruser parts of history; or with any history whatever. Yet something of this sort must have appeared, had he been the author of the poems in dispute. If he had obtained any acquaintance with the historians, either ancient, or modern, he must have had some little knowledge in Geography; but how very deficient he was in that science, may be known from his making the Tiber a river in Arabia. And this deficiency will appear more glaring, if we consider the means, by which he was probably led to this mistake. He intimates in some verses to a person at Bristol, that he had views of going abroad, and as we may infer, in the service of the African Company.

Before I seek the dreary shore,
Where Gambia's rapid billows roar, &c.

* * * * *

Now to the regions, where the sun
Does his hot course of glory run,
And parches up the ground,
Where o'er the burning cleaving plains
A long * external dog-star reigns,
And splendour flames around,
There will I go —

p. 85.

* A mistake, I suppose, for eternal.

This,

This, I imagine, put it into his head to attempt two African eclogues. To obtain a little knowledge of the country, he seems to have applied to some bookfeller for a map. Now it is to be observed, that the maps, which exhibit the great portions of the earth, are not limited to the boundaries of those grand divisions; but are generally extended farther, in order to shew how they are connected, and what countries lie immediately beyond them. Thus a map of Europe generally takes in Natolia, and part of Tartary and Siberia. And a map of Africa comprehends often in the same sheet part of Asia; particularly Arabia and Syria, as far as the Tigris. This seems to have been ill understood by the author of the Eclogues: who thought, that all in the same sheet was of the same division. He in consequence of it took the Tigris, which he undoubtedly read Tiberis, for an African river: and as he perceived, that it watered the upper provinces of Arabia; he has adjudged both Arabia and the Tiber to Africa. There is no accounting for his strange misconceptions, but upon these grounds. At all rates we may be assured, that a person, who was guilty of such puerile mistakes, could have no great pretence to learning. There are several places alluded to, whose names he did not accurately retain:

and

and with whose history he seems to have been quite unacquainted. Such is the great desert of Zaira; the country of the Gaga; the country of the Binni; and Cape Lopo, or Lopez Gonfalso. Traces of these we find in Zira, and its palaces, the steep cliff of Gai-gra, Lupa's rocky hill, Lobar's cave, and the people of Banny. One would imagine, that he took the names *vivâ voce* from the mouth of a foreigner, without any regard to orthography; and wrote them down as they appeared in sound from his pronunciation.

It is to be observed, that these Eclogues were composed, the one May 2d, 1770: the other June 12th the same year, and not long before his death; which was upon the 24th of August following. From these, which he composed in his eighteenth year, we may form a judgment of his abilities, when he was but fifteen and sixteen. The inference is too plain to need any explanation.

It is therefore in vain to talk of parts, and genius. The greatest capacity, that was ever conferred by nature, amounts to little; when left to itself, and debarred the means of improvement. Mr. Gray in his admirable poem on a Church-yard, takes notice of the rude forefathers of the hamlet: many of whom in a proper sphere might have made a figure in the world.

Perhaps

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid

Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire :

Hands, that the reins of empire might have sway'd :

Or wak'd to extacy the breathing lyre—&c. &c.

But what were they in reality? Hewers of wood, and drawers of water: hinds and peasants, who earned their bread in the sweat of their brow. Among the ideal rulers, legislators, and the divine bards, here supposed, one half could not write their names. But it may be said, that Chatterton was far superior to these: he was a prodigy for parts; and had certainly obtained a great insight into books, and a wonderful fund of knowledge. This, I know has been urged: but upon what is this opinion founded? It has arisen from this. People have taken it for granted, that he must have been the author of the poems stiled Rowley's: and from thence they infer, that he was a person of great learning. And in truth so he must have been; if those poems were his composition. But he uniformly tells us, that they were by another hand: and has prefixed to them the name of that person. I have from the real and indisputable compositions of Chatterton endeavoured to shew, that he had neither the parts nor learning requisite towards the executing, what has been thus imputed to him. He tells us in one of his letters, that he knew but one language: and all
the

the means of knowledge, which his most sanguine friends can devise for him, amount only to this, that he either borrowed, or hired, some books at his leisure hours. The whole of the intelligence, which he gained, was from these slender helps; without any person to advise or assist him. But the poems of Rowley abound with much abstruse learning: and with continual references to ancient history: and they are composed in a language replete with obsolete terms, which are very difficult to be explained. It requires a great insight into antiquity to find out the circumstances alluded to; and even to understand the words. A person must not be a novice, who undertakes this: and at the same time he must have every help at hand, that can be administered. But Chatterton unfortunately had not these advantages. If we suppose him to have had the knowledge here spoken of, by what helps did he obtain it? Learning, he had none. To inspiration he did not pretend: so that the only resource that can be found out in his favour, is a circulating library. But this must have been a poor help towards these wonderful acquisitions. He therefore never had the knowledge, of which some have thought him to have been possessed. But as mere assertions unsupported can have but little weight, the
best

best way is to let him again speak for himself; that from his own evidence his attainments may be further known. I have given some instances of his deficiency in his poetical tracts: It may be worth while to see, if he shews any greater marks of either genius or learning in prose.

In those miscellanies, which are reputed to have been without controversy his composition, there is one treatise upon sculpture and its origin. This was one of his latest performances, after he had been settled in town: and if he were a person of such superior sense and learning, we should I think meet with some traces of it here. But upon casting my eye over it, I can find little else, but some common-place thoughts, and loose opinions; and these backed by assertions void of all authority. These shew how inadequate he was to the subject, which he had undertaken. He not only wants precision; but his language is very faulty: and it is plain that he was not well grounded in the first principles of grammar. It will be unnecessary as well as tedious to lay the whole before the reader: I will therefore produce some extracts for his observation: and bring them, as they stand in succession.

The

The Origin, Nature, and Design of Sculpture.

“ 1. Sculpture is an art, which by design
 “ and solid matter imitates the palpable ob-
 “ jects of nature. It is difficult to ascer-
 “ tain the epocha of its origin: it is lost in
 “ the most remote antiquity.

“ 2. The arts of imitation in general, as
 “ painting, architecture, sculpture, &c. were
 “ the first invented.

“ 3. Sculptors began to work upon clay
 “ and wax, which are more flexible, and
 “ more pliable than wood or stone.

“ 4. The nations, amongst which this
 “ fine art was in the highest honour, were
 “ the Ægyptians; those people so celebrated
 “ by the monuments of their gratitude to-
 “ wards the memory of the kings their be-
 “ nefactors. It was to perpetuate their
 “ names, that they erected in the earliest
 “ ages the two Colossean statues of Mocrus
 “ and the queen his spouse.

“ 5. The Ægyptian sculptors excelled all
 “ others in exactness of proportion, &c.

“ 6. The Greeks subdued by the Romans
 “ degenerated insensibly: and the arts va-
 “ nished with their freedom.

“ 7. Sculpture was an exotic which never could thrive in victorious Rome: its transient glory was eclipsed by the other arts in the reign of Augustus; it declined under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius; and re-appeared with an enormous magnitude under Nero, &c.

“ 8. The sculptors gave the name of a statue to a figure in embossed work, that stands by itself in wood, stone, marble, or metal, of persons conspicuous by their birth, their rank, or their merit, &c. &c.

“ 9. The third species of statues was designed for kings and emperors: they were taller than men commonly are; and those that personated heroes were larger in proportion.

“ 10. As for the colossean statues, they represented gods, &c.

“ 11. An equestrian statue exhibits a man on horseback; as the statue of Charles the First at Charing Cross, &c.

“ 12. A Greek statue is naked and antique; thus called, because the Greeks displayed in that manner the gods, the heroes, and the athletes of the Olympic games.

“ 13. A mausoleum is a pompous funeral monument, decorated with sculpture and architecture, &c. It derives its etymology from the magnificent tomb, which Queen

“ Artemisa caused to be erected for Mausolus, &c.” See Miscel. in prose and verse, p. 142, 3, 4, 5, 6. This is all, that I shall quote, referring the reader to the Treatise itself, if he chooses to see more.

The young man, having resolved to write upon the subject above, seems to have had recourse to particular Dictionaries, in which he perused the articles *Sculpture* and *Statue*. This was done at some bookseller’s shop: from whence he carried off all the intelligence, that his memory would bear; and supplied what was wanting from his own imagination. Hence he speaks of sculpture and painting as the first arts, which were introduced: not considering, that they depend upon many prior inventions, and could not subsist without them. Virgil, after several previous discoveries, adds,

Tum ferri rigor, atque argutæ lamina ferræ,
(Nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum)
Tum variæ venere artes.

Virg. Georg. l. i. v. 143.

He speaks of the Egyptians being famous for the just proportion of their statues: and of the *colossæan* statues of Mocrus and his spouse. But in respect to the just proportion of these statues the very contrary is the truth: which he must have known, had he ever had access

to either Pocock or Norden. As to Mocrus and his spouse, no such persons were ever heard of. I pass over what is said about the Greeks : and concerning the transient glory of sculpture in the reign of Augustus, which *re-appeared with an enormous magnitude under Nero*. He says, that sculptors gave *the name of statue to a figure in embossed work of persons conspicuous by their birth, their rank, or their merit* : which plainly shews, that he did not know the meaning of the term *embossed* : and he seems to make the nature of a statue depend upon the characters of the persons represented. He again mentions *colossæan* statues, which he thinks originally were designed only for deities : and then informs his readers of an unnecessary truth, that *an equestrian statue exhibits a man on horseback ; as the statue of Charles the First at Charing Cross*. This definition of an Equestrian statue, and the example, with which it is accompanied, is, together with several other circumstances, borrowed from the well-known dictionary of Ephraim Chambers : to which he seems to have been often * beholden. The last thing, of which I shall take notice, is his account of *a Grecian*

* See the articles Statue, and Equestrian Statue.

statue: which, he says, *was naked and antique*: and *thus called, because the Greeks displayed in that manner the gods, heroes, and athlets, &c.* Hence it is plain, that he thought an antique statue to have been a particular species of sculpture: and denominated from its form, and manner of representation. He had undoubtedly met with prints of gods and goddesses; of fauns and satyrs; and likewise of wrestlers and gladiators, in various attitudes: and he seems to have thought, that they were denominated antique from the gestures and postures, which they exhibited, and from their being sometimes not cloathed. He was led into this notion by the same authority of Chambers, whom he has in this instance, as well as in many others, blindly copied. I have many suspicions about the strange person Mocrus, who is said to have had a statue raised to him by the Egyptians: I am persuaded, that it was a mistake for Mœris. Our young author did not know the force and construction of the diphthong œ: whose constituent letters are sometimes disjoined. Instead of Mœris, or Moeris, he read Mocris; taking the letter e, for c: which Mocris was easily changed to Mocrus by the time that he got to his lodging. For, I believe, he was much distressed for intelligence; and forced to
hunt

hunt for it by starts, and at a distance, wherever he thought there was an opportunity of obtaining it. For he certainly was put to his shifts, having few books of his own: and not being blessed with many other advantages, with which people of his zeal for science are often found to be favoured. How much he was distressed for knowledge, and how boldly he borrowed, or rather purloined, cannot be better known than by the examples which follow.

Chatterton's Maria Friendless.

I.

I am reduced to the lot of those unhappy beings from whom many, who melt at the sight of all other misery, think it meritorious to withhold relief: one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to suffer without complaint, and perish without regard; and whom I myself have formerly insulted in the

The Rambler's Misella.
vol. iv. N^o 170.

I.

I am one of those beings from whom many, that melt at the sight of all other misery, think it meritorious to withhold relief; one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to suffer without complaint, and perish without regard; and whom I myself have formerly insulted in the pride of reputation,

the

I i 3

tion,

the pride of reputation, and security of innocence.

2.

Being of an age in which young women are initiated in company; and as I was to move in a more genteel sphere than formerly, I was no longer to be supported in my present character, but at a considerable expence.

3.

I was now completely depressed; and though I had seen mankind enough to know the necessity of outward chearfulness, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, and examine by what means I might escape perpetual mortification.

4. By

2.

Being now at an age in which young women are initiated in company, I was no longer to be supported in my former character, but at a considerable expence.

3.

I was now completely depressed; and though I had seen mankind enough to know the necessity of outward chearfulness, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, or turn my condition in my mind, and examine by what means I might escape from perpetual mortification.

4. By

4.

By this stratagem, which I did not at first understand, he filled me with additional tenderness and gratitude; compelled me to repose on him as my only support; and by my sense of his favour, and the desire of retaining it, disposed me to unlimited complaisances. At last the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the submission, which he exacted as my benefactor, to attempt the ruin of an orphan, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority had subdued.

5. In

4.

By this stratagem, which I did not then understand, he filled me with tenderness and gratitude; compelled me to repose on him as my only support, and produced a necessity of private conversation. — My sense of his favour, and the desire of retaining it, disposed me to unlimited complaisance. At last the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the submission, which he exacted as my benefactor, to complete the ruin of an orphan, whom his own promises had made indigent, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority subdued.

I i 4

5. In

5.	5.
In the moments of * perturbation—	In the moments of perturbation—

If any person after this should insist, that Chatterton had parts, I shall not hesitate to allow it, notwithstanding all that has preceded. But he was void of judgment : and never had proper opportunities for improvement. The best instance of his taste is shewn in his theft. He has stolen largely from Dr. Johnson, and really with some address. But this does not prove him to have been a great genius : much less a prodigy of learning. A person of very deep and extensive knowledge has formed a very different opinion concerning this young man. He speaks of him as † *a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities ; and that he had acquired a store of general information far exceeding his years : and that he possessed a comprehension of mind, and activity of understanding, which predominated over his situations in life, and his opportunities of instruction.* I am fully sensible

* For the discovery of this plagiarism I am indebted to a learned and curious young gentleman at Cambridge.

† Hist. of Eng. Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Warton. Emendations and Additions to p. 164. vol. ii.

of

of every thing, which is due to a person of Mr. Warton's character; to whom the world is so much indebted. But after all, I know not how to subscribe to his opinion; and, I hope, that he will forgive me, if I think that he has been rather too hasty in his determination. I must confess that I see nothing of this prematurity of abilities in Chatterton; nor of the store of information, which so far exceeded his term of life: much less that comprehension, and that activity of understanding, with which he is said to have been gifted. I cannot perceive any traces of these wonderful qualities. I believe, there are many clerks and apprentices in town, who by reading plays and magazines, and by frequenting the theatres, get a better knack of writing, than was to be found in Chatterton. His bad success in his last stage of life, shews that he did not answer the expectations of those, who employed him.

That he was not so superior to others, as has been imagined, may be seen by comparing one of his compositions with another by one of his friends, upon a similar subject. That of Chatterton's is stiled *The Consulid*, from the beginning of which the following lines are taken.

Of warring senators, and battles dire,
Of quails uneaten, Muse, awake the lyre.

Where

Where C—mb—ll's chimneys overlook the square,
 And N—t—n's future prospects hang in air,
 Where counsellors dispute, and cockers match,
 And Caledonian earls in concert scratch,
 A group of heroes occupied the round,
 Long in the rolls of infamy renown'd ;
 Circling the table all in silence fat,
 Now tearing bloody lean, now champing fat.
 Now picking ortolans, and chicken slain,
 To form the whimsies of an a-la-reine.
 Now storming castles of the newest taste,
 And granting articles to forts of paste.
 Now swallowing bitter draughts of Prussian beer ;
 Now sucking tallow of salubrious deer.
 The god of cabinets and senates saw
 His sons, like asses to one center draw.
 Inflated discord heard and left her cell
 With all the horrors of her native hell.

The verses which I shall bring by way of
 contrast with the above, are from a poem
 called The Consultation.

The clock struck twelve : the busy world at rest :
 Laughter, invention, argument, and jest,
 Were heard no more. Repos'd lay old and young,
 Clos'd every eye, and silent every tongue.
 Sleep in her silken bands had all things tied ;
 All but the few, whom disappointed pride
 Urg'd on to madness : such with troubled mind
 Nor ease could know, nor balmy sleep could find.
 Perplex'd with thought profound here Party lay,
 Told the dull hours, and languish'd for the day.
 Restless, and pale, all comfort she defied,
 Whilst wild Despair sat weeping by her side.

A very

A very learned * friend, to whom I am obliged for the communication of these lines, accompanied them with the following words: "What I send is designed as a specimen of the difference of abilities between Chatterton, and one of his intimate friends, who was the author of the lines quoted from the poem called *The Consultation*. He was nearly of the same age, and, in my opinion, superior to Chatterton, though he has been less noticed."

Thus much I have thought proper to say in respect to the parts and attainments of this unfortunate young man. If I have been obliged in the course of my arguments to disclose some unfavourable truths; I hope it will be forgiven me: as I think, that there are ways and means by which I can make amends.

One circumstance in the process of this affair, and that of no small moment, should always be mentioned in his favour; I mean his inviolable attachment to the truth. He uniformly insisted, that the poems in dispute were not his own. No persuasion, no force, no emolument, could oblige him, though in a state of indigence, to take the honour of them to himself. He would not avail himself of praise, to which, he knew, he had no claim. Had he acted the contrary part, though he

* Dr. Glynn,

might

might have been at last detected, yet the immediate advantages must have been great. But necessitous as he was and humbled, he would not accept of bread upon those terms. His spirit was above it.

After all that has been said, it will be very unnecessary to obviate every suspicion and cavil, with which such controversies are attended. Yet it may be worth while to speak to one objection; which, though of no great weight, yet has been very popular, and relates to the supposed secrecy, with which this transaction was carried on. *How came the transcriber to be so cautious, that nobody ever saw him in the act of copying these poems, or had a view of the Mss. themselves?* This is a question, which has been often put; and is easily answered. That the affair was carried on with caution, is very certain. For when Chatterton began to examine the Mss. he had sufficient sagacity to know, that they were of consequence. And though they had lain for near three centuries neglected, yet he was sensible, that neither he nor his father had any right to remove them: nor had he any plea or title to keep them in his possession. This made him cautious of shewing them, for fear of their being demanded of him. In consequence of this, he copied them at his master's office; which was very private, and

at

at some distance from the house. However, both Mr. Barret, and Mr. Catcot, saw some of them; which they procured for themselves from Chatterton: and they were also seen by other people; who have given a positive attestation to the fact. More persons than one saw him in the act of copying, as will be shewn. It may be farther asked, *What became of those Mss. which remained in his hands?* for many must have remained, if we may judge by the transcripts. The case I apprehend to be this: When he found, after all that he had said, that the poems were treated as forgeries, and that he was himself traduced as a cheat, his pride was necessarily affected: and we may reasonably suppose, that he acted by these writings, as he is said at the close of his life to have done by his own: he demolished them utterly; as thinking that the world did not deserve them. He seems to have been greatly irritated at his veracity being disputed. For he was so far from taking the merit of these poems to himself, that he was continually giving testimony, that they were by another hand; and in doing this, he was so zealous for the truth to his own disadvantage, that he could never forgive those who controverted his assertions. Thus in a treatise, where he has subscribed himself

self by the title of Harry Wildfire, he falls very cruelly upon an honourable person, whose rank and character deserved far greater respect. This gentleman had supposed the poems in question to be spurious; which was sufficient to make him incur the invective of Chatterton. And the same fate attended every one, who controverted this truth. Hence towards the middle of the same treatise, there is a sarcastical reference to this purpose; and the author, speaking of some absurd notion, says—*Should any critic assert, that it is impossible such an imagination should enter any person's head, his assertion shall stand uncontradicted by me: as I know by woeful experience, that when an author resolves to think himself in the right, it is more than human argument can do, to convince him he is in the wrong.* p. 299.

Some to avoid the perplexity, with which the affair seemed to be attended, have given a new turn to the matter in debate: and imagined, that these poems were neither the composition of Rowley, nor of Chatterton, but of some third person. This is an expedient the most strange that could ever be conceived; and attended with the greatest inconsistency. Before there was an alternative: and if these writings could not be fairly adjudged to one of the two persons, they necessarily

cessarily fell to the lot of the other. By these means there was a fair chance of coming to a determination. But we in this case are withdrawn from the light, of which before we had some share; and reduced to a state of darkness, in order that we may see more clearly. Hitherto there were two persons, whose history was in some degree certified to us; and we had some sure footing, upon which we might proceed. But we are now referred to an ideal person: one who was never seen, nor any way known: concerning whom there is no tradition; nor the least pretence to any evidence. How can persons of any reason suffer themselves to be seduced by such an illusion? Besides, what do we get by such a supposition? If there were any difficulties before, they recur in this case with far more force, and in greater numbers. Chatterton prefixed the name of Rowley to the poems: He gave also an account how they were first found; and acknowledged, that he was not the author. Those, who are not satisfied with this evidence, ask, How these writings came to be so long secreted? If Chatterton copied them; who saw him take the copies? If they were from parchments; where are those parchments? Why were they ever concealed? How came Rowley himself not to be better known?

known? When was he born? At what time did he die? And by whom of his contemporaries is he mentioned? Now I do not see how we get rid of any one of these difficulties by substituting for a person, little known, another who is totally unknown. In respect to Rowley, and his transcriber, some light may be obtained: and the questions are not unanswerable. But upon an unknown subject, nothing can be said: nor can we give a solution to any one of these queries. Therefore I do not see, what we get by thus contending in the dark. Will not the same questions be asked, Why the poems were so long hid? and, Why the author is no where mentioned? &c. &c. The difficulty in some respects is as great as before: in others far greater. Besides, if such a person, as is supposed, had ever existed, how came Chatterton, through whose hands these writings have come to us, not to have put that person's name to them? What could possibly induce him neither to give the honour of them to the true author, nor to take the merit of them to himself? but to ascribe the whole to a third indifferent person, who had no pretensions to them? The surmise is of all others the * most idle.

* See these objections very satisfactorily answered, in a very ingenious treatise, the title of which is—Remarks upon the Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii.

Let

Let us then return to Chatterton:— he was known to be of an irritable disposition, and very greedy of fame. There are many pieces of his writing, full of invective, because he did not meet with that favour, which he thought his merit deserved. Yet in respect to the compositions in dispute, he uniformly gives the credit of them to Rowley. Many of these were shewn to people of consequence in town, when he was sixteen years old: they were likewise seen by many of his friends at Bristol. As he survived nearly two years, how came he never in all that time to retract, and vindicate them for his own? Why did he still persist to his own detriment? And as these compositions are two-fold, why did he give the honour to Rowley, where they were excellent; and only inscribe his name to those, which were inferior? for far inferior they most certainly are. It is well known, that he did not begin to copy, till he was about fifteen years old: and it is wonderful, that he could transcribe so much as he is found to have done, in the time afforded him. But if, instead of transcribing, he be supposed to have been the composer; he must have begun earlier: and even his fourteenth year will not afford time sufficient for the whole, which

was performed. But who can possibly think, that a boy from a charity school at that age could have effected, what we know to have been done? These poems are all in a very obsolete dress, and relate to ancient history: and the whole, as we are told, would amount to two volumes. We will therefore take the very latest period, at which we can imagine that he began to compose: and we will allow it to have been when he was about fifteen. We are then to suppose him at that age to have sat down with a fixed resolution to deceive the whole world; and to have prosecuted the scheme all through life to his own prejudice: giving uniformly the credit of his compositions to another; and abridging himself of every advantage, which might accrue from them. But this is not all. He must have had a degree of patience beyond a saint: otherwise he would not have persevered, without any encouragement, in this unfrequented track, in which he had idly engaged himself. But we have the evidence of those who knew him, and a still stronger testimony from his own writings, that patience was not one of his virtues. He was cholerick beyond description; and given to the most violent sallies of passion: yet in none of these did he ever retract, what he had
once

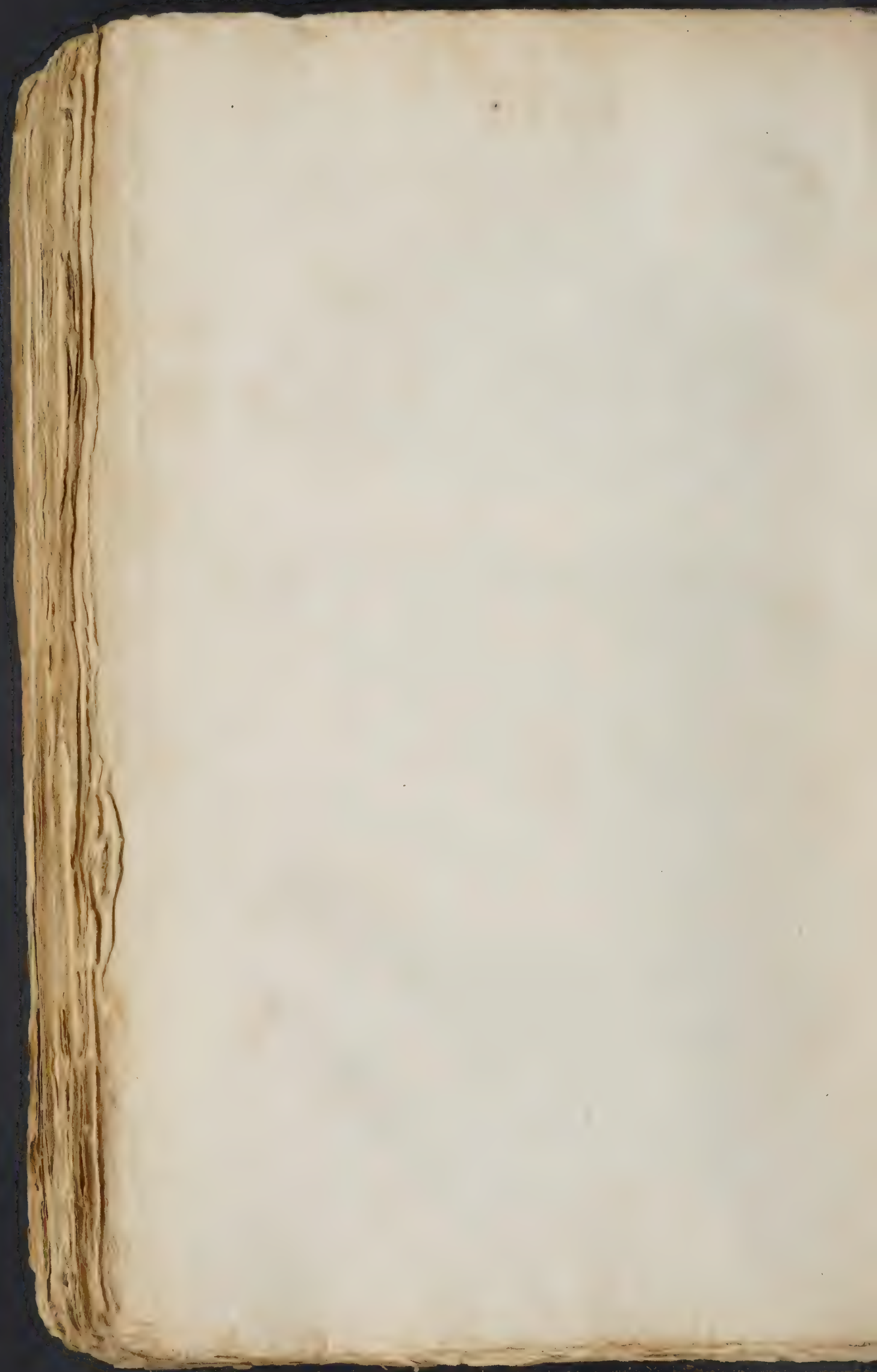
once asserted ; or avail himself of any opportunity of claiming these poems as his own. Not a hint ever drops from him, that the name of Rowley was supposititious : or that the honour withheld from the true author was in reality denied to himself. So far from it, that in a letter to his mother about three months before his death, he tells her, that *had Rowley been a Londoner instead of a Bristowyan, he should have lived by copying his works.* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface, p. ix. This is an attestation so strong in respect to the genuineness of the poems, that one would think, nothing could be opposed to it. Yet it is set aside as of no validity ; because the person, from whom it came, is supposed to have been a cheat. But, as I have said before, nobody goes on in a long process of deceiving, when every step is to his own detriment. He would certainly stop short in good time ; and make some change in a plan, from which no good proceeded. But this young man perseveres to the last : and in a confidential letter to his mother, intimates, as a thing well known to her, that he was himself only a transcriber. The mother, as well as the sister, is still alive : and they have given their repeated evidence to the same purpose. They have attested, and are ready still

to attest, that these poems were not of Chatterton's composition: and that they know, he only transcribed them. If a young lad of little or no principle should find a treasure of old poetry, and put it off for his own; I should not much wonder. But that such a person should compose to this amount, and then give the credit of it to another, is past my comprehension. It is repugnant to nature, and contrary to all experience. Yet this is supposed to have been done; not in one or two instances, but in a long series of composition. We see a young man, of an eager temper, and zealous of praise, out of humour with the world for not paying the regard due to some of his inferior productions: and at the same time he denies it to himself, where he had a better claim; and where the object was of far greater merit. For the poems, which have the name of Rowley affixed to them, are certainly very fine: but those, which we know assuredly to have been composed by Chatterton, fall very short of such excellence. The best of them do not rise above mediocrity: and many are very low and abject; and cannot be held in any degree of estimation. Yet, upon the supposition, that he was the author of the whole, these, of which we are speaking, must have

have been composed much the latest, however inferior they may be to the former; some of which must have been near three years prior, had they been the work of his hands. This too is contrary to reason and experience. When we speak of difficulties, with which this subject is accompanied, these are the real difficulties, to which we ought to attend. Many of the others are imaginary: but these are real, and not to be got over upon the notion, that Chatterton was the author of these poems. It may be said, *for that very reason we substitute a third person*. But when did he live? in the time of Rowley? Then the same objections made to Rowley will be brought against him. Was it in the time of Chatterton? I do not see how we at all rid ourselves of the perplexity, which we have before experienced. This person must have acted the same part: laboured for years to no purpose; and denied himself all the honour resulting from his operations. May we then imagine him to have been in an intermediate state? Still the same difficulties will arise; and the same, or similar questions be asked. At what time did he live? who saw him? who heard of him? in what manner were the writings transmitted? where were they procured?

who was witness to the originals? and who ever saw them copied? How came they not to have the author's name? and if they had not the author's name, how came they to be ascribed to Rowley? The only expedient, that I can think of, to solve all difficulties, is to suppose, that nobody wrote them: this perhaps may satisfy all parties. No, it will be said, *that is a supposition too absurd to be admitted: it is an insult to common sense.* In good truth, I see very little difference between ascribing them at once to a non-entity, or giving the merit of them to an ideal person, a phantom of our own raising. In the mean time, what is become of Chatterton and his wonderful parts; which for a long time were so much cried up? Though he was till near fifteen at a low parish school, where he had no opportunity of obtaining any portion of real learning; yet he was spoken of as a prodigy, for sagacity and knowledge: and this, to render him adequate to the performance, which was unduly ascribed to him. But he is at last found wanting, and accordingly set aside; his high pretensions not being sufficiently determined. And yet I should have thought him preferable to his substitute, who has no pretensions at all.

It has been very justly said, that there is great pleasure, as well as propriety, in detecting a fallacy, and exposing an impostor. But the converse of this is equally true: for there is the same propriety, and, I am sure, ten times more satisfaction, in doing justice to departed merit; and restoring those honours, which have been unduly awarded.



EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

IT is my hope, that, from the internal evidence afforded, the point, which I took in hand to prove, has been sufficiently ascertained. On this account it may seem unnecessary to proceed any farther. But as the external evidence is very copious, and the producing of it will be attended with much curious history, both in respect to the poems, and the persons concerned; it will not, I believe, be unsatisfactory, if I lay it before the reader.

The poems, and other writings, concerning which there has been so much dispute, were originally collected by Mr. William Canynge, a merchant of Bristol, who was, as has been
before

before mentioned, a person of great wealth, and five times mayor of that corporation. The collection appears to have been very large: and great part of it was obtained for him by a very learned person, his friend and confessor, Thomas Rowley. These manuscripts were of so much value, that Mr. Canynge took great care for their preservation: and gave directions, that they should be secured in a large chest, which he ordered to be placed in a sort of muniment room over the north porch of St. Mary Redcliffe church. This beautiful church he had himself built: and to this, as a sanctuary, he consigned the valuable deposit. Of this we have a most satisfactory proof, from a Latin deed, in the possession of Mr. Barrett of Bristol. It is a tolerably fair manuscript, and of indisputable antiquity; and not written by a private hand, as many of the manuscripts are; but in a regular official character. In this deed, made in the eighth year of king Edward the Fourth, there is an account of some chantries founded by Mr. Canynge: and among other things is mentioned the principal chest; out of which the writings in dispute were taken. This chest is particularly described, and stiled, *Cista ferata cum sex clavibus, the chest locked with six keys*. Concerning these keys there was an order

order in the deed, that two of them should be intrusted to the minister and procurator of the church : two to the mayor, and another of the corporation : and one to each of the churchwardens ; who were to act as trustees. There was to be an annual visitation ; and an entertainment upon the occasion, with a particular gratuity to each of the visitors ; the expences of which were to be defrayed from certain estates appropriated to that purpose. There is a farther account, though little known, of Canynge's principal chest. We from hence learn, that it was not only a receptacle of writings, but of money ; which used occasionally to be deposited in it. Concerning this we have the following account from Ricaut's *Mayor's Calendar*. It was usual for the mayor, on the morrow of All Souls Day, to walk to Redcliffe accompanied by the town-clerk : and there to sit in audit upon William Canynge's chantries, with the vicar, and proctors : which being finished, the town-clerk entered the account in a book there, called *Canynge's Leiger*, and the mayor then received a noble, the town-clerk 20 *d.* the sword-bearer 8 *d.* and the serjeants at mace 16 *d.* Ricaut's *Mayor's Calendar*, 160. b. This Ricaut was town-clerk of Bristol in the 18th Edward IVth,
A. D.

A. D. 1479. His Mayor's Calendar is a Ms. now extant in the chamber of the city, in the town-clerk's office; and, as is believed, no where else. I was obliged for this and other curious intelligence to my very excellent and learned friend Mr. Henry Dampier. Concerning this I had a curious extract sent me by the same learned friend from the ancient book in the vestry of Redcliffe church; in which mention is made of the two chantries founded by Mr. W. Canynge, conformably to the account given in the manuscript of Mr. Barrett. It is moreover mentioned, that in the year 1475 John Hixton, and some other person, proctors, paid 37*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* on account of those chantries: and that a surplus was set apart for Canynge's singing-clerks; and placed in a *cofre* called *Mr. Canynge's cofre*, lying in the *trezor-house* of the said church, before the mayre. The muniment room, where Canynge's chest now stands, is in the deeds called *Domus Thesauraria*: and in the above-mentioned book money is often said to have been delivered into this *cofre*. I am credibly informed, that it has always been difficult to get access to the vestry-book of Redcliffe church: and that it was utterly unknown to Chatterton. The above accounts from this
book

book shew the authenticity of Canynge's original deed, which is in the hands of Mr. Barrett. Indeed there can be no doubt of its antiquity.

Concerning the Dispersion of the Manuscripts.

The gratuities, paid at the annual visitation, were esteemed of some consideration, when they were first appointed; but as the wealth of the nation, and of Bristol in particular, increased; they must by degrees have become of less value; and at last scarcely worth demanding. And from hence, I imagine, proceeded a neglect in the trustees: so that in process of time this annual visitation ceased; and the writings were totally disregarded. As far as we can judge, they appear to have been deserted and unnoticed for a long interval of years: in which interval the six keys, with which they were secured, seem to have been * lost. All this, I think, may to a degree of certainty be inferred from the

* It was an unlucky precaution, to appoint so many keys: for one being lost rendered the others in a manner useless.

consequences.

consequences. For in the year 1727 there was a notion, that some title-deeds were in the chest: and those of the vestry directed, that it should be opened under the inspection of an attorney; and that the writings, deemed of value, should be removed to the south porch of the church. Accordingly, all the locks were forced; and the chest broken open: and as there were other chests in the same place, if I mistake not, six in number, supposed to contain ancient writings, they all suffered in the same manner. The deeds, which related to the church, were in consequence of this removed; and all the other manuscripts left at large, without any defence; being totally neglected, as things of no value. Thus were the good purposes of this excellent man ruined; and all his precautions rendered ineffectual. From this fatal æra the writings were at the will of any person, who thought it worth while to ask for them. How soon the demolition began, is uncertain: nor can it be known, what the original quantity was. Mr. Shiercliffe, a gentleman now living, and well respected at Bristol, visited the tower in the year 1749: and he told me, that he saw the parchments lying there to a considerable amount. He at that time practised miniature painting; and
in

in consequence of it was acquainted with Mr. Millar, who was then painting a kind of monument for Perrot, the sexton. This Perrot had been in good business, but failed by enterprizing too far; and was content to act in that low occupation. He had a desire to have some memorial of him put up, before he died: and Millar was accordingly painting a tablet for him. And having nearly finished it, he desired Mr. Shiercliffe, who stood by, to add something of a freeze or volute: *for your hand, says he, is steadier than mine.* Mr. Shiercliffe at his request performed it: which so pleased Perrot, that he led him all over the church; and among other things shewed him the north porch, where the parchments lay. Mr. Shiercliffe said, that he saw them in heaps, some quite loose, some tied up: that they were covered with dust; and looked rumpled, stained and torn; and very much marked with age. Perrot seemed to intimate to him, that he might, if it were agreeable, take some of them. But he did not regard the hint; as he had no taste for such ancient writings. Yet Perrot had certainly some notion that they were of value: for he made use of these remarkable words, at least words to this purpose; that *there were things here, which would one day be better known; and that in proper hands they*
10 *might*

might prove a treasure. Mr. Shiercliffe mentioned, that, as he had occasion to pull out his knife, he took the opportunity to mark upon the handle the year of the performance: for, slight as it was, he at that time was not a little pleased with it. This was three years before the birth of Chatterton. He added, that, when the name of Rowley was afterwards brought up, and his poems became the publick talk, it revived in his mind many faint ideas of this transaction.

It was about this season, that the final devastation happened among these venerable remains of antiquity. Some of the parchments seem to have been carried away before: but now the last hand was put to their dissipation. A woman, as I was informed, acknowledged, that she had carried off a lapfull; which she employed in cleaning some of her kitchen furniture. One Morgan, who had been a barber, took away some; which, I believe, are still preserved. These ravages were continually repeated, till the chests were exhausted. But the person of all others to be remembered was Mr. Chatterton; the father of the young man, with whom we are so much concerned. He was a singing-man of the cathedral; and used to copy musick: and at the latter part of his life he was master of the free school in Pile-street. And as his
uncle

uncle had been sexton of St. Mary Redcliffe, and he was acquainted with the people of the vestry, it gave him access to that church. By these means he had permission to take away many of the parchments: and with the assistance of his boys he carried off at one time, what they call a *maund basket* full of them; which he put into a cupboard in the school. Many of these seem to have been frittered away, and employed in vile uses; as the value of them was not known. About this time the minister of the parish, Mr. Gibbs, made a present to the school of twenty bibles. As the whole number of the boys was forty, these bibles were to be given to the twenty out of that number, which should be found to read best. Old Mr. Chatterton, in order to preserve these books from being damaged, covered them with some of these parchments, which he cut to pieces for that purpose. When he died, and his widow was obliged to remove, she carried what remained of them to her own house.

Under such unfortunate circumstances were these curious manuscripts after a long interval of neglect brought to light. And when they were at last discovered, it was in great measure to their dissipation and ruin. Those, which had the good fortune to be preserved, seem to have been for a long time little

known: and the few persons, who had obtained any knowledge of them, did not entertain the least idea of their value. The first time, that their worth seems to have been suspected, was in the year 1768, at the opening of the new bridge at Bristol. There had been a publication in one of the weekly journals printed by Felix Farley; in which was contained an account of the ceremonies observed some centuries before, at the opening of the old bridge: and this was said to be taken from an ancient manuscript. The curiosity of many persons, and particularly of Mr. George Catcott, was by this publication raised; and they began to make enquiry from what hand it came. All the intelligence, which the printer could after some investigation obtain, amounted to this; that the person, who brought the account, was a lad about fifteen or sixteen years of age; and that his name was Chatterton. It was about this time, in the latter end of the same year, that Mr. Catcott, walking with a friend in Redcliffe church, was informed by him of several ancient pieces of poetry being found there; and that many specimens were in the hands of a young lad, with whom he was acquainted. This person proved to be Chatterton; to whom Mr. Catcott desired to be introduced. He accordingly had an inter-

view;

view; and soon after obtained from him, very readily, without any reward, the Bristowe Tragedy, Rowley's Epitaph upon Mr. Canynge's ancestor, with some other little pieces. In a few days he brought some more; among which was the Yellow Roll. These, of which some were copies, and some originals, were immediately put into Mr. Barrett's hands. During the conversations, which Mr. Catcott had about this time with the young lad, he heard him mention the names of most of the poems, since printed, as being in his possession. He afterwards grew more suspicious, and reserved: and it was but rarely, and with difficulty, that any more originals could be obtained from him. He became more and more out of humour with the world; and in these distempered moods seems to have made away with many of the manuscripts. Indeed he confessed to Mr. Catcott, that he had destroyed several: and some, which he owned to have been in his possession, were never afterwards seen. One of these was the tragedy of the Apostate; of which a small part only has been preserved by Mr. Barrett. The subject of it was the apostatizing of a person from the Christian to the Jewish faith. He mentioned, that his father, who was of the choir at Bristol, and took much pleasure in musical compositions,

tions, had a manuscript of musick, composed by Rowley. Whether this came into the possession of the son, is not known. It might possibly be the book, out of which he was taught his letters by his mother: for she taught him from an ancient manuscript of musick, which had been her husband's. Upon his death she had been obliged to remove; and on that occasion carried with her all the manuscripts, which remained. These were consigned to a large box, and put under a bed: in which situation they were afterwards found by her son. As he was the person, who discovered their merit, and through whose hands they have been transmitted to us; it will be proper in this place to say something of his history.

Some Account of CHATTERTON, and
his Discovery of the Manuscripts.

Though I had received sufficient evidence from a very particular friend, who had made the most fair and impartial enquiries; and upon whose representations I knew that I could depend: yet I thought it proper, to prevent every scruple, to visit myself the persons principally concerned with the young man: and to obtain immediate intelligence
from

from those, who were personally connected with him. From his mother, and from his sister, I learned, that he was born upon the 20th of November 1752, a few months after his father's * death. That he was put to school in Pile-street to be taught to read, under Mr. Love, who had succeeded to his father as master. That he was sent back to his mother, when he was about five years old, as a dull boy, and incapable of instruction. His mother upon this took him in hand herself; and first taught him his letters, as I

* CHATTERTON

Born two or three months after his father's death, —	}	20 November 1752
Left the school in Pile-street, when five years old, —	}	November 1757
Went to Coulston's school, be- fore he was eight, —	}	October 1760
Left Coulston's, and was articled to Mr. Lambert, when four- teen years and seven months old, — — —	}	1 July 1767
He was almost sixteen at the open- ing of the new bridge, and had been at Mr. Lambert's one year and three months, —	}	1 October 1768
Soon after known to Mr. Barrett and Catcott, — —	}	November 1768
Left Mr. Lambert's, when seven- teen years and five months old, }	}	April 1770
Died unhappily, — —	}	22 August 1770

L 1 3 have

have before mentioned, out of an old manuscript musick book; in which the initials were ornamented. She afterwards taught him to read out of a black-letter testament: which probably may have laid the foundation of his attachment to manuscripts and ancient writings. In his eighth year he was sent to the blue-coat charity school at St. Augustine's back, founded by Edward Coulston, Esq; where he was kept, as all the boys were, very closely and uniformly confined. Here he continued till the first of July 1767: and upon the same day, that he quitted school, he went to Mr. Lambert's, an attorney of that place; being at that time fourteen years and eight months old. He continued in this situation till April 1770: when he went to London, in great hopes of raising himself in the world by his writing for booksellers, or for any other persons, who should employ him. But it appears, that he was sadly disappointed; and died in a most melancholy manner the same year, upon the 22d of August, aged seventeen years and nine months. I asked Mrs. Chatterton, if she knew any thing of her husband's bringing the manuscripts from Redcliffe church; and of his making use of part of them to cover bibles. She told me, that she certainly did: and intimated, that he had otherwise employed them:

them: and particularly shewed me Clark's History of the Bible, which she said had been covered in the same manner. She likewise remembered her son's first taking notice of the manuscripts in the box; which was when he had been some time at Mr. Lambert's, and was turned of fifteen: also of his carrying them away in his pockets.

I had the like information from Mrs. Newton, the sister of Chatterton; to whom I made application for intelligence. She remembered well the manner of her brother's being taught to read, from the old musick book; and from the testament in black letter; being herself somewhat more than three years older than her brother. She could also recollect the whole process of his discovering the parchments in the box; and of his joy, and extasy, when he found out that they were of value. She mentioned likewise, that when he could get leave from Mr. Lambert, he used to return with eagerness, and fill his pockets, in order to carry off what might suffice him to copy. After this he would upon another visit read to her with infinite satisfaction what he had transcribed; and sometimes shew great indignation at her not having a proper taste for such compositions. One time in particular he used very hard words, and left her in great displeasure. He

read them likewise to several of his friends ; and finding, that they did not afford that regard, which the poems merited, he often repeated those memorable words, that, *had Rowley been a Londoner, instead of a Bristowan, his (Chatterton's) fortune would have been made.* This is mentioned in a letter to his mother, when he was in London : but his sister remembers his using the same expression occasionally, before he went thither. He alludes to it himself, in those verses from Bristol, with which his will is accompanied. I desired to know of Mrs. Newton, if he always distinguished Rowley's poems from his own ; and if he never took the merit of them to himself. Her answer was, that he always mentioned the poems, which he copied, as Rowley's. He uniformly spoke of them as ancient ; and treated them with a kind of veneration. He sometimes read his own compositions to her jointly with the others : but still he made a distinction : and though he was well satisfied with his own verses, yet he seemed to treat those of Rowley with a different regard. I asked her, if she had ever seen him copying any of the manuscripts, which he had carried away. She said, *never, that she could remember, excepting once : at which time she came upon him unexpectedly, at his master's office.* The house, it seems, was
at

at the distance of above half a mile from the office ; at the latter of which, on account of privacy, he used to transcribe. Great difficulties have been unnecessarily raised ; upon a supposition, that nobody ever saw this young man with the manuscripts before him, and in the act of copying. But the fact we find was not true : and of one instance to the contrary we are assured by the evidence of Mrs. Newton. And if she had not accidentally met with this information, yet she had seen the originals repeatedly : and she was an indisputable witness to the copies from them, though not to the copying. However, there are other proofs to the same purpose. Mr. Capel, a jeweller at Bristol, resided, when an apprentice, in the same house, where Mr. Lambert had his office. He told me, that he saw Chatterton, the very day that he came from Coulston's, with the tonsure on his head, and in the habit of the place. He was afterwards acquainted with him ; and might have been very intimate : but the young man's pride disgusted him ; and he had at the same time a dislike to his principles. However, some correspondence was maintained between them : and Mr. Capel often called in upon him, when he was writing : and he assured me, that he had at times seen him copying the manuscripts. I asked him,

him, if they were parchments: to which he answered, with proper caution, that he could not, after such an interval, take upon him to determine about them: as he had at that time no inducement to make any particular enquiry; nor could he apprehend, that they would be found of such value. He said, he remembered very well, that they lay in heaps, and in great confusion; and seemed rumpled, and stained: and near them were the papers, upon which Chatterton was transcribing. Thus much, he said, he knew for certain, that Chatterton spoke of the manuscripts as ancient writings: and among other things told him, what affords very material evidence, that *he was then studying to understand the old language, in which they were written.* One reason for this privacy in writing he thought might arise from the dislike, which Mr. Lambert shewed to Chatterton's being employed in this manner. And Mr. Capel thinks, that he never saw the young lad copying, but when his master was gone from home. But there were certainly other reasons. He concluded with telling me, that he had seen many of Chatterton's early compositions, at the same time that he produced those of Rowley. But there was always, in his opinion, a material difference; the latter being far superior. And he added in respect
to

to Rowley's poems, that he did not believe there were two persons in Bristol, who thought Chatterton was the author. *Sir*, says he, *I know, that he was incapable of writing them.* He told me farther, that Chatterton one time was composing a play for some itinerant players: and he added with a smile, *that the real author of Ælla would never have written for strollers.* In speaking of his appearance, he said, that there was generally a dreariness in his look, and a wildness; attended with a visible contempt for others. There was moreover, upon his being any way irritated, or otherwise greatly affected, a light in his eyes, which seemed very remarkable. The same circumstance I have heard from others, who knew him. In short, Mr. Capel acknowledged, that Chatterton had parts; but not adequate to the compositions in dispute, of which he was supposed to have been the author.

It is well known, that one of Chatterton's most intimate friends was Mr. Cary, who had been acquainted with him at school. On which account it may not be improper to mention part of a letter, which this person wrote in August 1776 to Mr. George Catcott, who had requested his evidence in order to strengthen his own.

“ *Sir,*

“ Sir,

“ It being your request, that I should
 “ give you my opinion of the authenticity
 “ of Rowley’s manuscripts; I can only say,
 “ that I have frequently heard Chatterton
 “ make mention of such writings being in
 “ his possession shortly after his leaving
 “ school; when he could not be above fif-
 “ teen years of age: and that he had given
 “ Mr. Barrett and Catcott part of them.
 “ Not having any taste myself for ancient
 “ poetry, I do not recollect his having ever
 “ shewn them to me: but he often men-
 “ tioned them; when, great as his capacity
 “ was, I am convinced, that he was incapa-
 “ ble of writing them, &c. &c.—This, I
 “ think, I am warranted in asserting; as
 “ from my intimacy with him I had it in
 “ my power to, and did, observe the pro-
 “ gress of his genius, from its infancy to its
 “ fatal dissolution. His abilities for his age
 “ were undoubtedly very great; but not
 “ equal to the works of Rowley: particu-
 “ larly at the age, when he first produced
 “ them to light, &c.”

Another of Chatterton’s bosom friends was
 Mr. Smith, the son of a brewer at Bristol.
 As he was about the same age as his com-
 panion, he knew the whole of his history;
 and nobody seems to have been in a greater
 degree

degree of confidence with him, during his stay at Lambert's. But this person has been for some time abroad : on which account I can only give his evidence at second-hand ; as I received it from a * particular friend, in whose veracity however I can safely confide. I shall lay it before the reader, for the most part, as it was afforded in a short dialogue between these two persons. My friend's enquiry, if I mistake not, was made in the year 1778 : and he wrote down with great accuracy every answer, that was made.

Dr. G. When first, in what manner, and how often, did Chatterton read Rowley to you ?

S. When with Mr. Lambert : not before : sometimes whole treatises ; sometimes parts only ; and this very often.—I mean, he used to read to me very often some ancient pieces of writing, which came from the room over the north porch at Redcliffe. I do not know, that they were all by Rowley. But I never heard him speak of any ancient poet besides Rowley.

Dr. G. Were these manuscripts upon vellum ? and did you see these manuscripts ? and how many ?

* Dr. Glynn.

S. Yes,

S. Yes, they were upon vellum. I have seen such manuscripts. I have seen a considerable number of them; perhaps a dozen. Many, as I remember very well, had the heads of Kings and Popes, or something in that way, upon them; and some were as broad as the bottom of your chair.

Dr. G. Did you ever see him transcribing any of them? and where?

S. Yes, often; very often; at Mr. Lambert's office: and he has frequently read to me there, what he had just transcribed. But I had no taste for such things.

Dr. G. Did he ever tell you when, and in what manner, he came by these manuscripts?

S. Yes; about the time when he first went to Lambert's. He had them from a box, which had belonged to his father: and his father had them from Redcliffe church. His father being dead, and these parchments in the possession of his mother; they for many years shared the common fate, that old parchments usually do. That is, some were turned into
* thread-papers; some into patterns; some
into

* I did not choose to ask Mrs. Chatterton about the Mss. being put to these uses; as it might have embarrassed her: and it was a circumstance not very material. Yet there could be no more harm in her making use of
them

into dolls, and the like. In short, they were applied to all those vile and mean uses, which waste writings are liable to be put to. He added, that the manner of their being discovered to be of value was this. When young Chatterton was first articled to Mr. Lambert, he used frequently to come home to his mother by way of a short visit. There one day his eye was caught by one of these thread-papers. He found not only the writing to be very old, the characters very different from common characters; but the subject therein treated was different from common subjects. Being naturally of an inquisitive and curious turn, he was very much struck with these appearances: and, as one would expect, began to question his mother, what those thread-papers were; how she got them; and from whence they came. Upon farther enquiry he was led to a full discovery of all the parchments, which remained, and of what value they were. This was the history given by Mr. Smith; which was very carefully taken down by my friend. The following account

them for thread-papers, than for her husband employing them for covers of books. When the value of a thing is not known, we cannot wonder at any misapplication. If she did act as is surmised; she did no more, than any other person would have done in the same circumstances.

is

is very remarkable. He was always, said Mr. Smith, very fond of walking in the fields, and particularly in Redcliffe meadows; and of talking about these manuscripts, and sometimes reading them there. *Come, he would say, you and I will take a walk in the meadow. I have got the cleverest thing for you, that ever was. It is worth half a crown merely to have a sight of it; and to hear me read it to you.* When we were arrived at the place proposed, he would produce his parchment; shew it, and read it to me. There was one spot in particular, full in view of the church, in which he always seemed to take a peculiar delight. He would frequently lay himself down, fix his eyes upon the church; and seem as if he were in a kind of extasy or trance. Then, on a sudden and abruptly, he would tell me, *that steeple was burnt down by lightning: that was the place, where they formerly acted plays:* (meaning, if I remember right, what is now called the Parade). I recollect very assuredly, that he had a parchment in his hand at the very time, when he gave me this description: but whether he read this history out of that parchment, I am not certain. Being asked, if Chatterton used to speak of these Mss. as ancient, and as Rowley's, he answered, always as ancient; and some of them as Rowley's:

ley's: but whether all as Rowley's, he could not determine. Being farther interrogated, whether Chatterton ever spoke of these manuscripts and poems, in such a manner, as if he would have people believe, that they were his own; he replied: Chatterton not only never offered to claim them as his own; but never so much as dropped any hint that way: never seemed, as if he wanted people to suspect, much less believe, that they were of his composing. *Look you, Sir, said he, you will be pleased to understand me right. What I have here said, I mean in respect to such things only, as he gave to Mr. Catcott and Barrett, which were undoubtedly ancient. Whatever he gave out as his own, or published as his own, I know to have been his unquestionably. He had no occasion to be beholden to any other man's labour for a character. Sir, he was one of the most extraordinary geniuses I ever knew; the most extraordinary I ever heard of.* He then went on in an encomium upon his friend, which was much too extravagant; yet excusable in one, who had so great a regard for his memory.

But, whatever the genius and abilities of this young lad may have been, they were unassisted for the most part, and uncultivated. This will in great measure appear from the testimony of this very person; who, being

M m questioned,

questioned, confessed Chatterton's ignorance of those languages, which principally conduce to cultivation and knowledge. For when it was asked, whether he understood Latin and Greek; the reply was, *not in the least*. He *had intimated*, said Mr. Smith, *very frequently, both a desire to learn, and a design to teach himself, Latin; but I always dissuaded him from it, as being in itself impracticable. But I advised him by all means to try at French. As to Latin, depend upon it, you will find it too hard for you. Try at French, if you please: of that you may acquire some knowledge, without much difficulty: and it will be of real service to you.* Of his utter ignorance in respect to the ancient languages, I was farther assured by Mr. Barrett; who knew much of him in the two last years of his life; and who was a better judge of his abilities than any of his companions. He told me, that Chatterton once borrowed of him Skinner's Etymologicum; but returned it in a few days, because most of the interpretations were in Latin. He did the same by a small Saxon dictionary, which had in like manner been lent to him; and which he returned on the same account. Among the many circumstances mentioned by Mr. Smith, one is very remarkable. It is well known, that Chatterton was very ambitious to be known, and very greedy of praise;

praise; so that he loaded the press with his own productions. Yet he never gave the least hint to his friend, that he ever intended to collect and publish Rowley. And though, during his stay at Lambert's, a great number of his own compositions were sent up to town for the press; yet of the ancient poems none, I believe, except that short one of Elinoure and Juga, were ever transmitted for publication: and even this, when sent, had the name of Rowley prefixed to it; by which he distinguished it from his own.

As it was curious and necessary to know, what assistance the young man had towards obtaining any knowledge, my friend Dr. Glynn applied to Mr. Clayfield in Castle-street; as he was said to have lent many books to Chatterton. But the account, which he gave, was, that, to the best of his remembrance, he never lent him but two books: for he had but few in his possession; the whole being contained in a glass case, which he kept for his private amusement. The two books alluded to were Martin's philosophical grammar; and one volume of Martin's Philosophy. The latter, he thinks, was borrowed merely for the copy of verses, which are prefixed to it. He said, that he had heard Chatterton speak of Rowley; but not often: that he had heard him read Milton,

and Thomson: but he seemed more fond of his own verses: and these turned chiefly upon satire. He concluded with saying, that, in respect to the poems of Rowley, the boy had not abilities for such a performance. *Sir*, says he, *take my word for it, they were no more his composition than mine.* It may be proper to observe, that Chatterton was certainly distressed for information: and as he failed in his expectations from Skinner and the Saxon dictionary, his chief resources were Kersey, and the glossary to Speght's Chaucer. The very copy, of which he made use, with notes in his own hand writing, is now in the possession of my friend Dr. Glynn.

It is remarkable, that in the course of the evidence afforded by Mr. Smith, there is mention made of Redcliffe church spire being burnt by lightning. But how could either Mr. Smith or Chatterton have been apprized of this; as there was no history, nor any known record, concerning such an event? It is true, that since the death of the latter, there has been a publication by Mr. Nasmith, of William of Worcestre. This came out in the year 1778: and we find the fact there mentioned. *Latitudo (lege Altitudo) Turris de Radclyfe continet 300 pedes: de quibus 100 pedes, sunt per fulmen dejecti.* p. 120. As
the

the only history, in which this is mentioned, came out after the death of Chatterton, he could not have his intelligence from hence; but it must have come from one of the manuscripts of Rowley.

OBJECTIONS considered.

It has been looked upon as a strong objection, that this William of Worcestre, who writes so particularly about Bristol, never once takes notice of Rowley. I can only return for answer, what I have said before; that Leland, a far more curious observer, takes no notice of Canynge. He gives an ample description of Bristol, and celebrates the very church of Redcliffe: yet says not a word of the constructor of the church, nor of the benefactor of the place. In his treatise de Scriptoribus Britannicis, he mentions neither Lydgate nor Occleve. Why then should we think it so strange, that any writer should omit Rowley? Yet from hence some have been led to think, that no such person existed: that the name itself was fictitious, and introduced merely to deceive the world. But we have indisputable evidence in favour of this person: which evidence has been obtained from the bishop's register at Wells; in which diocese Bristol was of old included.

It is there recorded, that Thomas Rowley took his first orders of Acolyth in the year 1439. It is likewise past contradiction manifest, that, about the time of Canynge, the family of the Rowleys made a considerable figure in Bristol. This is proved from the original ledger book of St. Ewin's: for which, and much other satisfactory evidence, I am greatly obliged to Mr. George Catcott. From this ledger it is plain, that the Rowleys were inhabitants of that parish; and that one William Rowley, a merchant, together with John Persyns, served the office of procurator of St. Ewin's in the 17th year of king Edward the Fourth; and that he was a benefactor to the place. Concerning him and his benefactions, the following extracts have been made by Mr. G. Catcott from that book, p. 2d.

April 16, 1450. Item, one masse boke of the geste of W. Rowley, merchant; whych begynneth wyth the collic, that ys to saie, Deus qui beatum, &c. before the kalendar: and after the kalendar, exorcizo te, creatura salis, &c. and endeth, Christus et agnus, &c.

The same William is also mentioned, among other benefactors, for a new suit of vestments to St. Ewin's church, in the 14th of king Edward the Fourth, p. 75.

Item,

Item, of William Rowley, 20 <i>d.</i>	-	1 : 8
Imprimis, of William Rowley, for		
his seage in the church	- -	1 : 0
Item, of William Rowley, for the		
making of the pax	- - -	3 : 4

Upon the floor in the chancel of St. John's church are the effigies of two persons in brass, very perfect, and representing a man and his wife; with the following inscription, which is still legible:

Hic jacet Thomas Rowley, Mercator, et Vicecomes hujus Villæ Bristol: qui quidem Thomas obiit xxiii die mensis Januarii, anno Domini, 1478; et Margarita Uxor ejus, quæ obiit **** mensis Martii, anno Domini 1470: quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen. His label has these words: Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Her label has, Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis. The persons above lived in the time of Thomas Rowley, the friend of Canynge: and we may infer, that they were his relations.

An INFERENCE of consequence.

I cannot help taking farther notice of the burning of Redcliffe spire; as I think, it may be attended with some information of

M m 4 consequence.

consequence. It will satisfactorily prove, if I mistake not, from whom, and from whom only, the young man got his intelligence. It is to be observed, that William of Worcester visited at different times several parts of England: and he has generally put down the particular years of those visitations. The latest date to be found in his book is 1480. Among the more early he has marked one; at which time he left Bristol to go to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall; which was in the year 1478. From hence I am led to suppose, that his account of Bristol, and particularly of Redcliffe church, was in this year, or not long before it. The event may have been somewhat prior. Now it is well known, that the celebrated Mr. Canynge died in the * year 1474: between which and the account given by William of Worcester there is an interval of only four years inclusive. If then the accident did not happen in that space, it must have fallen out antecedently, in the very life-time of Canynge. We may be pretty certain, that it happened in the time of his friend Rowley. He intimates in his life of Canynge, that he sur-

* He died that year, upon the 7th of November, as appears from the inscription upon his monument in the south isle of St. Mary Redcliffe church.

vived that good man ; and mentions his experiencing the effects of age : that growing more and more infirm, he changed his situation for the sake of his health and convenience. From hence we may conclude, that he was sixty years old. Now it is manifest from the register of Wells, that he was made Acolyth in the year 1439 : and we know, that this office, when regularly taken, was conferred upon very young persons. For this we have the authority of Hesychius. *Ακολυθος, ὁ νεωτερος, παῖς.* The author does not say, *νεος*, but *νεωτερος* : by which must be signified a boy, or a very young lad. The nature of the office may be known from Du Cange. *Acolutus, Acoluthus, proximus hypodiacono gradus.*—*Sunt enim (Acolythi) veluti famuli Ecclesiastici, ut pote qui vilioribus Ecclesiæ ministeriis deputantur, ut cereis deferendis, &c.* Others make it the lowest and earliest of the four inferior orders : and the business, in which they were employed, was to take care of the sacred utensils, to light the candles, and to do the duty of a servitor in respect to the church apparatus. If then we suppose Rowley to have been fifteen, when he was admitted Acolyth in the year 1439, he must have been born in 1424 : and if he lived to be sixty, he was alive in the year 1484 ; which was six years after the account
given

given by William of Worcestre. Or if we suppose him to have been twenty, when he was made Acolyth, he will then have been sixty in 1479: so that at all rates he must have been acquainted with the accident of the spire.

As William of Worcestre may possibly have written either in the year 1479, or 1480, which is later than the time which I have supposed; it may be proper, in order to obviate all scruples and difficulties, to determine the very year; that the inferences thence drawn may be well founded. Though his account is desultory, and his histories mixed; yet some degree of method may at times be found. He tells us, p. 89, that he sat out upon a journey from Bristol to Cornwall in the year 1478. *Viagium de * Bristolio, &c.* He gives an account of the same journey more at large, p. 142: which he began at † Norwich, and from thence went to Bristol,

* This is the title to the description given of his journey; but it is separated, and the diary interrupted, by the history of persons deceased, and by the dates of events, that occurred in the monasteries, which he visited in his way. The manuscript of the Itinerary seems to have been compiled from the author's loose papers, and is in many places confused; but may be easily made out.

† Die Lunæ 17 Augusti incepti viagium de Norwico usque Myghell-mont in Cornubiâ. Mem. The 17th of August fell upon a Monday in the year 1478.

which

which he reached on *Tuesday*, the first of September. He left this place on *Wednesday* the ninth of September; and on *Thursday* the 17th of September he heard mass in the Mount of St. Michael. From thence he returned, and was again at Bristol upon *Tuesday*, the feast of St. Michael, the 29th of the same month, p. 146. Now his description of Redcliffe tower, and the account of the spire, is antecedent to his journey to Cornwall; and is accordingly mentioned, p. 120. And that the journey to Cornwall was in the year 1478, is plain to a demonstration by the days of the week specified. For the first of September, when he mentions his reaching Bristol, was that year a *Tuesday*: and cannot be made to agree with the years, which immediately followed. Also the 17th of September, upon which day he got to St. Michael's Mount, was a *Thursday*, as he has described it. And the 29th of September, or Michaelmas, when he returned, was that year a *Tuesday*. For the Sunday letter for 1478 was D; by which test all the days specified may be * tried, and confirmed. He

* After his return to Bristol from Cornwall, he mentions observations which he made, concerning the islands in and near the Severn: which he says was in the year specified above, 1478, primo die Octobris. Memorandum de insulis aquæ de Severn, p. 154.

concludes

concludes his journal by saying, Mercurii, 7 die (Octobris) per Alton, per castrum Fernham, Gylford, Kyngyston, etc. usque London. These data accord with those above. The seventh of October was dies Mercurii, or *Wednesday*, in the year 1478; and not in the two subsequent years. Hence it is manifest, that the casualty, which is mentioned of the spire, must have been before this term: consequently Rowley must have been acquainted with it; and we cannot well suppose, but that it was recorded by him. And as there are no other means, which can with any shew of reason be devised for Chatterton to have arrived at this knowledge, we may presume, that he had it from the Redcliffe manuscripts. If we consider all the circumstances, with which this enquiry has been attended, we may be morally certain, that it was from Rowley, and from him only, that this intelligence could be derived. At the same time it gives great weight to the testimony of Mr. Smith: and shews that the account he gave, was founded in truth. This incidental piece of intelligence is similar to that concerning the fine imposed upon Canynge of 3000 marks; which has been authenticated by the same writer, though, I believe, not to be found in any other history. The knowledge of this must
have

have been procured by Chatterton from the same resource as the former ; from the Mss. of * Rowley. There was no other, from which he could obtain it.

From what has been said, we may perhaps assign some reason, why William of Worcestre does not make mention of Rowley. It is observable, that, unless history demands it, writers do not commonly commemorate persons before their death. Now we may be morally certain, that Rowley was alive, when William of Worcestre was at Bristol ; and probably lived some years afterwards. He may have survived him ; as he appears to have been a younger man than William of Worcestre, who was born in the year 1415. This may have been the reason, why his name does not occur.

I had forgot to mention, that there were two persons named Rowle and Roly, and each of them Thomas, who are found mentioned in the register of Wells.

* When Redcliffe church was first built, Rowley had prophesied, in some verses upon the occasion, that it would—*desie*

Fyre-levyn and the mokie storme.

But he certainly lived long enough to find that he was no true prophet ; for the church, as we have seen, was in his time struck with levyn, or lightning. See Rowley's Poems, p. 276, ver. 6.

Thomas

Thomas Rowle was ordained Acolyth 31st May 1439.

Thomas Roly was admitted to the same degree 21st March 1460. From hence, and from other circumstances, it appears, that neither the name, nor family, of Rowley, was so obscure, as some people have imagined. The first of these two persons was undoubtedly the author of the poems. The other was probably a relation.

PRIVATE

P R I V A T E E V I D E N C E

O F T H E

T R A N S C R I B E R.

MANY instances have been produced of the uniform and publick attestation, which Chatterton gave to the poems of Rowley. He afforded some of a more private nature; which seem to have come from the heart; and were subjoined for his own use, as notes to some of the copies, which he transcribed. This was abundantly proved to me by Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of consummate candour and goodness; to whom I am under great obligations for repeated civilities; and still more for store of intelligence, which I could no where else have obtained. One of these private attestations is annexed
to

to an account of a manuscript, stiled *The Pattern of St. Luke*: under which Chatterton has subjoined this note—*A book frequently quoted by Canynge and Rowley; consisting of physick and theology.* At the bottom of another treatise, where plays and innumeries are mentioned, he has added an observation to this purpose; that plays in that rude age had acquired a degree of merit far beyond what was generally thought: and then concludes with these remarkable words; *as will be seen, when I have leisure to transcribe some of Rowley's, and one of Stowe's.* In another treatise, where it is said, that *the world was created by the Holy Sprite*, there is again a private reference to Rowley. He mentions him likewise in some satirical verses, prefixed to his counterfeit will: which will and verses were made at a very solemn season, when he purposed to put an end to his life. They witness a sad despondency, and great bitterness of heart. In an address to Mr. George Catcott are the following lines; in which he treats him with more lenity, than he shews to others: yet they are sufficiently severe.

Catcott, for thee, I know thy heart is good :
 But ah ! thy merit's little understood.
 For bigotted to whimsies, which thy youth
 Receiv'd to venerate for gospel truth,

Thy

Thy friendship never could be dear to me,
 Since all I am is opposite to thee.
 If ever obligated to thy purse,
 Rowley repays them all, my first chief * curse.

In the annexed will, among other ideal legacies, he bequeaths the following: *I leave to Bristol all my spirit and disinterestedness, parcels of goods unknown to her key, since the days of Canynge and Rowley.* Upon the cover of the book, which contained in his handwriting the will and verses, was the following memorandum: *All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock, Saturday, in the utmost distress of mind.* By this is meant, between eleven and two at midnight; and, as it elsewhere appears, upon the 14th of April 1770. What he here threatened, but postponed, was unfortunately put in execution the August following, after he had been a few months in town. We may be assured, from these indirect and repeated appeals to Rowley, that he was esteemed by Chatterton a real person; the same, from whose writings he copied.

Besides these proofs, Mr. Barrett has several manuscripts of indisputable authority,

* These verses were composed, as will be seen, when he was seventeen years and five months old; not long before his death. Let them be compared with the poetry, which he produced as Rowley's, when he was a year or two younger.

N n

which

which have been signed by Rowley himself. The characters in each instance appear to be similar; and the hand-writing the same in all. In these and in other manuscripts the poems of Rowley are referred to, and their antiquity shewn. To obviate these cogent arguments, people have insisted, that the young lad forged the whole: and indeed the whole must have been in great measure his production, if the poems were: there is so great a correspondence between them and the other writings. But this was not possible. For what time had this young man for so extensive a fraud? and what inducement to carry it on? The first general discovery of the Mss. being in his possession, was at the opening of the bridge at Bristol in the year 1768, when he was not quite sixteen years old. Mr. Catcott then became first acquainted with him: and he has assured me, that he remembers Chatterton's mentioning to him at that time most of the poems, which have appeared since in print. Some of them he got from him, as has been before shewn. The like was told me by Mr. Barrett, in respect to himself. He assured me, that most of the Mss. in his possession were obtained from Chatterton very early, and nearly at the same time. I have mentioned, that the general discovery of them was in 1768, at the opening

opening of the * bridge: but they were known to his mother and sister before, and to some of his friends. They had seen them in his possession; and heard him read the transcripts, which he had made from them. But were it not so; who can conceive, that a boy at the age above-mentioned could form such an idle scheme of deceiving the whole world; and continue to prosecute it to such a length? Add to this, that the poems and writings unpublished, as far as I could learn, are equal to those, which have been printed; and possibly far exceed them. Those too, which were destroyed, must be taken into the estimate: so that the amount will be found very great. Yet of these the principal and most excellent were made known soon after the opening of the new bridge, 1st October 1768, when he was about sixteen years old. The composition therefore must have been much sooner. From his first coming to Mr. Lambert's to this time was but a year and three months. It is somewhat surprizing, circumstanced as he was, that he could in that time be able to understand the numerous manuscripts: but that he could execute the whole himself is past belief. If we suppose him to have begun at fourteen, there is not

* He was at that time little more than fifteen years and ten months old.

time for the performance: nor even, if we go back to thirteen. But he was at that time, and long after, immured in the blue-coat charity school; and knew nothing more than to read, and to write, and to cast accounts. Of this we are certified by the master, Mr. Haynes, who is now alive. His mother, sister, and all who then knew him, give evidence to the same purpose.

SOME

SOME FARTHER OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

THE poems of Rowley have stood a very severe test. Every objection, which wit and ingenuity could invent, has been produced against them. Hence numberless doubts and difficulties have been started: and a variety of suspicions raised, in order to take off from that antiquity, to which they are justly entitled. The great stumbling-block, and in reality the only one, is the harmony of the verse, which is imagined to be too good for the age, to which the poems are ascribed. This opinion is thought to be still strengthened by the modern turn of the language: and in support of these notions all other objections have been framed. But I have shewn, that this argument is fallacious: and that the same objections might be made to the Crede of Pierce

N n 3 Plowman,

Plowman, or the story of William Wallace; the former of which was a century prior, and the latter of the same æra. As a proof of this, let the reader turn back to those lines, which I have quoted from these poems; and particularly to the passages from the latter, p. 433. Make a small change in the * dialect; and the verses will be found as good, and the language as modern, as that which is at this day in use. Besides, there are at all times persons, who stand forth beyond their compeers: and Rowley was one of these. And as to the harmony of his verse, it is not universal; nor is that modern appearance to be found every where. On the contrary, though there may be oftentimes some brilliant lines; yet the verse in general wants that equability, which prevails in more mo-

* I have said a great deal concerning the dialects observable in ancient writers of this island. The like notice is taken by the learned Dr. Percy, the present dean of Carlisle. This may be seen more than once in those observations, with which he has enriched that curious collection of old poetry, by him collected and published. He also observes very truly, how very equably and smoothly they wrote in one age, and how they degenerated in another: and of this he affords many instances. From hence is very satisfactorily shewn, that the rhythm and style of a poem will not always lead us to the time of its composition. See vol. ii. p. 7, p. 28, p. 68, p. 138, and p. 279, concerning Rob. of Gloucester, and his dialect.

dern

dern compositions : and there are in the language strong marks of antiquity ; as may be proved by the glossary, which is manifestly very copious. Indeed, in some places the language seems more obsolete, than could be expected for the time of king Edward the Fourth : and the reason is, that some of the poems, however new modelled, were prior to that æra. For Rowley himself tells us, that he borrowed from Turgott : and we have reason to think, that he likewise copied from * Chedder. These objections therefore are founded on prejudice ; which by collating and comparing may be easily removed.

OBJECTIONS to the Manuscripts considered.

But it is said, that the manuscripts, from whence the poems were transcribed, as well as those, with which they were accompanied, were not in the hand-writing of the fifteenth century. This does not seem to be a just objection : for what criterion is there, by which we can certainly determine about the common hand-writing of people at any time,

* A poet mentioned in the Mss. who is supposed to have flourished about the year 1330. He is said to have had some *maumeries* at the *comitating* the city.

in the same country? The writings of great clerks, and lawyers, by which property is conveyed, and in which the publick registers and records are preserved, may be similar, and perhaps uniform, in any particular age. But the hand-writing of individuals will always be vague, and uncertain: nor was there ever a standard, by which it could be at any time determined. Let a person consult the general post-office, where there are every week, and, I believe, every day, letters rejected: some written by foreigners in bad English; others by natives in worse; and both in characters not to be deciphered. Let him, I say, look at these; and see, if they might not be adjudged to any age. Or if this may not appear conclusive, let us have recourse to the hand-writing and names of those persons, who sat in judgment upon king Charles the First: which have been taken from the repository of curious manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Astle, and very faithfully engraved. If a person, who knew nothing concerning the history of the list, were directed to many names in it for his judgment, he would be at a loss, to what age he should determine them; whether to this, or to the last; or to either of the two preceding. The same learned gentleman has afforded us specimens of hand-writing by
some

some of the kings of England; which like the former have been engraved with great care. In one sheet are the signatures of princes from James the First downwards to king George the Second, inclusive. But did we not know the history of the persons referred to, we should never from the characters find out, when they wrote. And though between the first year of king James, and the last of king George, there was an interval of little less than an hundred and sixty years, yet nobody from the mode of writing would judge, which had the priority. In another sheet are the names of princes, who were of a more early date. But all, that can from hence be learned, is, that the more early they lived, the worse they wrote. Among the several signatures exhibited, there is one of Margaret of Anjou, wife of king Henry the Sixth; which like many others affords little indication of its age. It would puzzle the most knowing antiquary to find out by the characters the time, in which it was written. It might be adjudged to any æra; also to any language or country. Some possibly might esteem it of no language; as it scarcely discovers one of those elementary characters, of which the name properly consists. I am therefore convinced, that there can be no certain criterion concerning the common writing

writing of any period. When we see any mixture of Saxon letters; and when particular abbreviations and coalitions are to be found; the manuscripts may be ascribed to an indeterminate antiquity. But the common writing of individuals will be still more indeterminate: and if any judgment be formed from a comparison with the stated and official hands in vogue, we may be very wide of the truth. It has been likewise mentioned to me, by way of objection, that one of these parchments had been stained with yellow ochre. I have enquired of Mr. Barrett, who does not remember any particular stain: but if it were as represented, I do not see the inference. Yes, it is said; we may from hence perceive, that it was a forgery; and that it was marked with yellow, to give it a more antique cast. Now I do not see, why marking it with yellow will give it a more ancient appearance, than staining it with red or brown; or soiling it with dust. In short, Chatterton was so far from forging the manuscripts, that he often could not read them. Of this I have given some examples; and shall hereafter produce more.

Concerning

Concerning some of the original Manuscripts.

Mr. Barrett, who readily afforded me all the information in his power, shewed me many of the original manuscripts, which by his care had been preserved. Among these he mentioned the Song to Ælla, which was the first specimen, which he obtained. The Song was first given to him in Chatterton's hand-writing, about the latter end of the year 1768. Upon his enquiring of him concerning the original, he had that too brought the very next morning. It appeared foiled and rumped; and had every mark of antiquity. The same is to be observed in all the parchments, which were given to him. The letters were in most faint, and the ink faded; and the manuscripts in many places not legible. But as Mr. Barrett at this time fortunately attended upon Lord Litchfield, who was come to Bristol for his health; he was advised by him to make an application of galls, in order to recover the ink, which was thus faded. He accordingly made the experiment; and it succeeded very well. By these means the characters were in great measure restored; and the parchments rendered legible.

legible. But I would here ask, if we suppose Chatterton to have gone on in a series of forgery; how he could give to the Mss. these marks of antiquity, which they manifestly bear? They might be easily rumbled and soiled: but how could he render the ink of that faint and gray appearance; and make the characters so uniformly obscure? In short, how could he give those marks of antiquity? that wear and tear, if I may so express myself; and all those injuries and imperfections, which are the consequence of age? What time does imperceptibly and by degrees, cannot be brought about at once. It is not a day, nor a year, that can produce these alterations. Besides, if the whole were a fraud, it was not carried on at one time only, nor in one instance; but in many. The life therefore of the young man would not have sufficed for the execution. Many of these Mss. I have seen: and they bear indisputable marks of antiquity: such as could not be counterfeited under a long space of time: and even then they would be liable to detection. And, after all, *cui bono?* what emolument was obtained, or even aimed at, by the young lad, from this supposed forgery; from this long series of misapplied industry? He does not seem to have purposed any advantage: nor could any good have arisen from

from this fraud, but what might with more ease have been obtained in a fair * way.

Concerning the abilities of CHATTER-TON, and the resources, to which he applied.

But after all, he had neither parts nor learning adequate to such performances. To this all, who knew him, bear witness. Many of them are greatly prejudiced in his favour: yet, when the question is put about his literary attainments, they confess that he was wanting; and had not the least insight into the learned languages, through which true knowledge is conveyed. It may be said, that some of these persons were of no rank in life; nor had themselves any pretensions to science. Suppose it to be so: yet they were people of sense and probity: and it requires no length of line to plumb, when the stream is not out of one's depth. They might not be able to comprehend the genius of a Boyle or a Newton: yet we may suppose them to be judges of the abilities of a charity boy; of one, who was upon the same level, as themselves, or perhaps inferior. We may

* The same may be said of any person substituted in his room.

allow a person to measure an object of his own height ; though he may not know the altitude of the sun, nor the distance of a fixed star. And I cannot conceive, why a person's evidence, which would be thought good in a case of property, and even upon life and death, may not be admitted to determine a poem. But all, to whom I applied, were very respectable persons. Besides others, there is Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of reading and judgment, who was perfectly well acquainted with the extent of Chatterton's powers : and he has repeatedly told me, that they were by no means * shining. The master of the school, Mr. Haynes, to whose care he was committed, is still alive ; and affords, as I am assured, the same evidence. He says, that he was not a boy of extraordinary parts : nor did he make any display of abilities, during the time, that he was at school ; which was till he had compleated fourteen years and an half. But the best proof is from his own performances ; especially from those, which he composed

* In the satire, with which his last will is accompanied, he seems to own, that, what learning he had obtained, was by the means of Mr. Barrett.

To Barrett next : he has my thanks sincere,
For all the little knowledge I had here :
But what was knowledge ? how could it succeed,
When hardly twenty in the town could read ?

the

the latest. Some of them are very low and abject: and the best do not rise above mediocrity.

What his learning was, may be farther seen from the expedients, of which he made use, in order to get instruction. As he had engaged himself in copying ancient manuscripts; we have seen, that he took the first opportunity of borrowing Skinner's Etymologicum, and a Saxon dictionary. But as these did not answer his purpose, he got Speght's Chaucer for the sake of the glossary, and Kersey's dictionary. In the latter of these he used to hunt in a most servile manner. This may be perceived in a strange bombast letter to his friend Smith, which he wrote about a fortnight before he died. It consists of many high-sounding and uncommon terms; borrowed from the Greek, and relating chiefly to different sorts of poetry. These are all to be found in Kersey, and, I believe, in no other English dictionary. That he had them from this source, is certain from his copying the very errors of the author; such as *Ogdastick*, for *Ogdoastick*, a mistake, which occurs in * Kersey: also *Cephalopbonia* for the *head-ach*, instead of *Cephaloponia*;

* *Ogdastick*, an epigram consisting of eight verses. Kersey.

which

which is to be found in the same * author. In like manner he has *cherisaunei* for *cherisance*, borrowed in the same † manner. This gives room to suspect, that he sometimes altered the originals, which he had before him, upon the authority of these etymologists.

From these expedients, of which he made use to gain information, we may perceive the small extent both of his learning, and judgment. It may be farther seen in the account, given of him even by his most sanguine friends. For when they speak of him as a prodigy, they found their notion chiefly upon those sing-song compositions in verse, which he wrote to some young women at Bristol, and to other friends; and which may be looked upon as very tolerable for a person so young. But these persons never give the least hint about any historical knowledge; nor mention any writer of consequence, which he had read. The same is manifest from the books, which he borrowed. - Many of them were, as I have shewn, dictionaries and glossaries; and such, as afforded a compendious rout towards a little superficial knowledge.

* Cephalophonia, a pain in the head. Kersey.

† Cherisaunei, (O) *comfort*. Kersey. Concerning this word, and the alteration in consequence of it, see p. 106, of this Treatise.

His other reading seems to have been expended in magazines and miscellanies: and he was conversant in Milton, Shakespear, and Thomson. Beyond these he does not seem to have aspired. That this was the case, we may be assured from the persons, to whom he applied; Mr. Barrett, Green, Clayfield, and others, still living. But the author of these poems and manuscripts must have been a person of much reading: one, who was conversant both in ancient and modern literature. This is manifest from the frequent allusions to ancient ceremonies and customs; and from the references to Greek and Roman authors: also from a number of words borrowed from the old French, Saxon, and Scottish languages. In the sermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, there is a quotation from Cyprian; and another from the Greek of Gregory * Nazianzen: and in the story of John † Lamington are many Latin quotations.

None

* The passage is as follows; Γεννᾶται Χρῆς; προτρέχει. Βαπτίζεται; μαρτυρεῖ. Πειράζεται; ανάγει. Δυνάμεις επιτελεῖ; συναγομαρτεῖ. Ανέρχεται; διαδέχεται. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 37, p. 610. Edit. Paris. This last word seems to have been effaced in the original manuscript. In the room of which, the word κατερχεται has been substituted in some copies,

† A play or interlude of John Ischam, titled *The merrie tricks of Laymyngetonne*. The quotations here are

O O

introduced

None of these were obvious, and such as a boy could attain to. Nor are they idly and ostentatiously introduced: they are all pertinent, and well adapted. In respect to the sermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, the very texture of it shews, that it was the composition of a person versed in divinity. Hence some have thought, that Chatterton accidentally lit upon an old sermon; and put it off for Rowley's. But if we allow him to have met with such an ancient composition, what inducement could he have to ascribe it to a wrong author? Consequently, can any reason be alledged, why we should not give it to the person specified? It is said, that the history of Rowley is obscure, and but lately made known. But what do we get by having recourse to a person still more in the dark; and whose history is not at all known?

Concerning his MISCONCEPTIONS.

I have mentioned, and have endeavoured to shew, that Chatterton many times did not

introduced in a ludicrous manner, being put in the mouth of a pedantick merchant of Bristol. Among the prose Mss. of Rowley, mention is made of a church being founded by Lamyngton, who had been a terrible freebooter and pirate in the time of king Henry the Sixth; and was obliged to execute a work of this nature, to obtain his pardon.

understand

understand the poems, which he presumed to interpret: and it is farther to be observed, that there was often a material variation between the copy and the original; which never could have happened, if he had been the author of both. He must have known his own writing; and would not have deviated from his own purpose. It is wonderful, that this inference has not been made before: for to me it amounts to a certainty, that he had ancient manuscripts, which he imperfectly copied. Thus in the song to Ælla, which was given to Mr. Barrett in Chatterton's hand-writing, two lines are found to be expressed in the following manner:

Orr seest the hatchedd fiede
Ifrayninge o'er the mede.

But when the original parchment, which was brought the next day, had been cleaned and examined more accurately, the true reading was found to be, not *ifrayninge*, but *yprauncynge*: which makes, in respect to sense, a material difference.

Orr seest the hatchedd fiede
Yprauncynge o'er the mede.

I have mentioned, that Mr. Barrett made use of galls to fetch out the faded characters; which succeeded well. Hence many of Chat-

terton's readings were found to be erroneous : and it was plain, that, from the letters being nearly effaced, he had often mistaken the original terms, and substituted one word for another. Thus, in the poem to Lydgate, instead of

I and thee, — he read thou and I.

Instead of *goe,* — *bee.*

Instead of *wryte,* — *fyghte.*

The song to Ælla is upon parchment, and written like prose, without any breaks or divisions. This was of old usual, in order to save expence, by crouding as much as could be brought together within a small compass : because materials for writing were * dear. In this song many of the variations between the copy and original are remarkable. Some of these I will mention, as they have been previously noticed by Mr. Tyrwhitt. Towards

* There was no paper manufactured in England till about the year 1493, or 4; when it was introduced by John Tate. The first book printed upon this paper was Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum, by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1494.

John Tate the yonger joye mote he broke,
Whiche late hathe in Englund doo make this paper
thynne

That now in our Englifsh this boke is prynted Inne.

See Prohemium Bartholomei de proprietatibus rerum.

the

the end of the second stanza, Ælla is represented as spreading destruction far and near, upon the shore of Watchet: and in the copy of Chatterton, the poet says of his hero,

Then dyddst thou furieuse stande,
And bie thie *valyante hande*
Beesprengedd all the mees wyth gore.

But upon examining the original, the true reading was found to be

And bie thie *burlie hande*.

And even this I suspect to be a mistake for *burlie brand*. In the same poem Chatterton's copy has

<i>dysmall</i>	—	for <i>honore</i> ,
<i>brastyng</i>	—	for <i>burstyng</i> .

In the Answer of Lydgate, he has

<i>varfes</i>	—	for <i>pene</i> , or <i>pen</i> ,
<i>sendes</i>	—	for <i>lendes</i> ,
<i>lyne</i>	— —	for <i>thyng</i> .

In another copy of the song to Ælla, he has

<i>doe</i>	— —	for <i>goe</i> ,
<i>fyghte</i>	—	for <i>wryte</i> ,
<i>whose hayres</i>	—	for <i>whose lockes</i> ,
<i>glare</i>	— —	for <i>gloue</i> , i. e. <i>glow</i> .
<i>kenneft</i>	—	for <i>hearest</i> .

The like mistakes are often to be discovered

from the context in copies, of which there is no original preserved. For the true reading appears from the plain purport of the lines, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has with much judgment * shewn. Of this he affords several instances in the errata, which are annexed to his edition of Rowley; where Chatterton has mistaken

<i>viſtuals</i>	—	for <i>viſtims</i> ,
<i>fears</i>	— —	for <i>tears</i> ,
<i>toe</i>	— —	for <i>doe</i> ,
<i>ſtorven</i>	—	for <i>ſtroven</i> ,
<i>ſythe</i>	— —	for <i>ſyke</i> ,
<i>bie thanks</i>	—	for <i>mie thanks</i> .

Can theſe be the miſtakes of an author? Certainly not. We may perceive, that he could not always read the characters of the Mſſ. and accordingly, when he was at a loſs, ſupplied arbitrarily, what was wanting; forming his conjectures from the context. And in doing this he changed the mode of ſpelling, in order to give his variations an air of antiquity. But when the original parchment was either cleaned, or more carefully examined, then theſe aberrations were diſcovered; and the true reading reſtored.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Introduction to Rowley; to which I have been obliged for much curious intelligence. See p. xv. and xvi.

It moreover fortunately happened, that not only these mistakes were detected; but on the other hand several truths have been authenticated, which before appeared doubtful. Thus in one treatise copied by Chatterton, the celebrated Canynge is mentioned as a * second son. But we have no voucher for this in any history: and it would appear a mere boyish and groundless fancy, were it not for another manuscript in Mr. Barrett's possession, by the authority of which it is proved. But this manuscript was utterly unknown to Chatterton. It was indeed obtained with some others from Redcliffe church; but from a different part of it: and taken away, if I mistake not, by a person before Chatterton was born. It is therefore impossible, that this young lad could have uttered these circumstances at random; and then had these after-evidences in his favour. He must have had an original manuscript before him, from whence these matters of fact were borrowed; a manuscript of the

* It is in an account, which was prefixed as a title to the *Storie of Wylliam Canynge*, and is to be found in Mr. Barrett's copy, given him by Chatterton. *Wylliam Canynge was borne seconde sonne of Johne, sonne of Wylliam, sonne of Roberte Canynge; all of Seyncte Marie Redcliffte. Hee was relatedd toe Gurneies, Nevylles, Montecutes, and otherr gentle houses, &c.*

same date, and by the same hand, as that extant now, by which the fact is proved.

As I have more than once spoken of Mr. Barrett, and my obligations to him ; it may be proper to apprise the learned world, that he has now made a great progress in his History of Bristol ; which, in consequence of it, I hope will soon appear in print. It will afford to the antiquary, and to every favourer of learning, much curious and recondite intelligence. In this work will be found many evidences in favour of Rowley's poems : and there will be inserted copies of several manuscripts still extant, which were written by Rowley himself ; and are subscribed with his name in his own hand-writing. One in particular is stiled *the Purple Roll*, and consists of two parts. The first is in the writing of Chatterton, the original being lost. The second is upon parchment, and indisputably ancient. It is made up of different subjects : for I have before observed, that people were obliged to crowd together many articles within the same limits, on account of the dearth both of parchment and paper. It contains an account of coining : and there is also some history given of Ælla, and of his fight with the Danes ; in which, contrary to the poet's narrative in the play, he is said to have

have died of his wounds. It also makes mention of Turgott; and affords great illustration to several things alluded to in the poem stiled the Battle of Hastings, for which before I could not well account. It is shewn, that he was connected with Bristol: and he may possibly have come from it; for we have no light from history to determine, where he was born. If any faith may be reposed in the manuscripts of Rowley, and I hope by this time they have merited some credit, we find in the account of the * *Carvellers*, that Turgott was assuredly of this place. *Turgotte borne of Saxonne Parents ynn Bristowe Towne, and a monke of the Chyrche of † Dumesne. Hee was skylled ynn tonges, and wrytten meynthe Rolles, as yee maie see ynn mie yellowe Rolle. Hee dydd decease ynn Mxcvii, beyng buried ynn ‡ Durham Chyrche.* There is also in the same manuscript an account given of Afflem, whose name is mentioned in the Battle of § Hastings. *Afflem a monke of Seyncte Cuthberte wytbe beforefayde Turgotte, Bristowe borne, a moste skylfulle peynctoure,*

* A manuscript in the hands of Mr. Barrett.

† The true reading is undoubtedly Duresme.

‡ So expressed in the manuscript lent me by Mr. George Catcott: but I should imagine that the original, like that above, was Duresme.

§ Page 213, ver. 61.

and

and poett. Whenne he dyedd ys uncouth. The time of Turgott's death does not agree with that given by Simeon of Durham. The figures may possibly have been transposed and altered. For *MXCVII*, we should read *MCXV*: for this was the true year of his decease. The account of his birth-place accords in some small degree with that given by the above-mentioned Simeon, who says, that he came * *a remotis Angliæ partibus*. This relation to Bristol might be the reason of his so readily joining himself in the north to the monks Aldwin and Reinfrid; who came nearly from the † same part of the kingdom. His connexion with Bristol affords also a reason, why the people of that place are spoken of with so much ‡ honour: and for the references to the Severn and the Hygra; which I once thought might have been additions by Rowley. It likewise affords farther authority, and in some degree a

* P. 206.

† They came from the monastery of Winchelcomb, in Gloucestershire.

‡ It is remarkable, that the reverse of this is observable in the writings of Chatterton: for they in general contain a satire upon Bristol and its inhabitants: not a line is to be found in their favour. The two other writers are always zealous in their praises both of the place and people. This is a circumstance, which deserves our attention,

proof, that the poem called the Battle of Hastings was originally written by Turgott; which is by Rowley intimated more than once. Lastly, it accounts for the title assumed by Chatterton of *Dunelmensis Bristolienfis*; which he would never have taken, had it not been for a prior signature of Turgott of Dunhelm, which he had seen upon a manuscript,

RECA-

RECAPITULATION.

IF we consider all, that has been said, we shall find, that there has been full evidence afforded to the following facts. First, that Mr. William Canynge, by the assistance of his friend and confessor Thomas Rowley, did make a valuable collection of writings. That they were deposited in a large chest in a room over the north porch in St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol. That he took the utmost care for the preservation of this valuable deposit, by having six keys to the chest, and as many trustees, who were to perform an annual visitation. Of Rowley, whose existence was doubted, there has been afforded sufficient testimony from the register of Wells: and it has been farther shewn from the ledger of St. Ewin's, that in his time, there were at Bristol several respectable persons

sons of that name ; and, as we may reasonably infer, of his family. It has been shewn, that the writings thus laid up, were preserved very safely, till the year 1727: at which time the chest was broken open ; and part of the parchments carried to another room. That the remainder lay exposed, and was carried away by different persons. That Chatterton's father had a large share ; of which a great deal was by him misapplied and ruined. What was left at his death his widow put into a box, and upon her removal carried to her own house. That this box was some years afterwards discovered by her son, when he was about fifteen years old ; and that he at times carried off the writings, which he studied and copied at his master's office. Mention has been made of his joy, when he found out their value : of his ecstasy in speaking of them, and when he read them to his friends : of his indignation at their being disregarded ; which he sometimes expressed in very opprobrious terms. It has been proved, that he never took the merit of them to himself ; but always uniformly spoke of them as Rowley's. For this we have the evidence of his mother and sister, and every one of his most intimate friends. Persons have been applied to, who saw the originals : who saw him with the parchments

ments in his hand ; who heard him read from them ; and were present at the time he was copying. Several of the originals are still in the hands of Mr. Barrett. I have shewn his small pretensions to learning, from his first companions ; from those, who knew him afterwards ; from the master, who taught him : and lastly, from his own testimony ; from the writings under his own signature, the strongest evidence of all. That he had originals before him, is plain from the helps, to which he applied, to get information. These were Skinner, Kersey, the small Saxon dictionary, and Chaucer with the glossary. These he obtained, when he had been in possession of the manuscripts above a year and an half : so that at that season, though he had copied many of them, he was not perfectly master of the language. Indeed, he never attained to it. And to this were owing the false glosses and deviations, of which a real author could not have been guilty. Indeed, nothing can be more inconsistent, than to suppose him the author : for it is plain, if he composed the poems, that he did not know his own meaning : if he penned the originals, he could not read his own writing ; but was obliged to others to find out his purpose. This induces me to dwell a little longer upon the books, which he borrowed ; as the inference,

ference, which naturally results from that circumstance, seems to be of consequence. They were obtained partly from Mr. Barrett; and partly from Mr. Green's circulating library; after he had given to Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett many copies of the poems, and spoken of others, as being in his possession. This shews, that they were not of his own composition. For who ever constructed a poem, and then a year or two afterwards turned to a dictionary to understand it? It may be said, that he had recourse to these helps, in order to form a glossary. But if he had composed the verses, surely he could have made a glossary, without the help of either Kersey, or Skinner: otherwise, as I have urged before, he must have written, what he did not understand: and that such fine poetry was the result of ignorance, is not to be believed. That the world arose from chaos, I can easily imagine: because it was by means of a divine hand. But that a jargon of words should produce an Iliad, I cannot conceive. It is therefore plain, that he was not the author.

I have mentioned many of his mistakes and misconceptions; and the mistakes of others, which he through ignorance adopted. It is with regret, that I am obliged to recur to those instances of his want of knowledge in
his

his Saxon and African poems : in the latter of which Cabo Lopez Gonfalvo is changed to the rock of Lupa and the cave of Lobar : the desert of Zaira to the palaces of Zeira ; and the river Tiber is made to run through Arabia. How is it possible for a person of so little experience to have attained to that store of knowledge, to that abstruse and recondite history, with which these poems are fraught ? Turgott and Rowley knew the persons, of whom they treated ; and the circumstances, which they described. But Chatterton had not this knowledge. He lived at a great distance of time ; and had neither experience, nor history, of these events, which he is supposed to commemorate. How could he possibly know the names of the Saxon Earls, which occur in the Battle of Hastings ; and which are not to be found in any historian ? They are indeed authenticated by Doomſday-book. But did he ever hear of that book ? or if he did, had he ever access to it ? We may be assured, that he never had. The names of Bertram, Normanne, and many others, were too far out of his reach to have been ever attained by him. The nature of this evidence is such, as must set aside all scruples and surmises : nor can it be affected by any of the popular stories of Chatterton, and his inventive faculty ; nor

by the high and unwarrantable notions of his parts and genius. As I have before said, let him have had every natural qualification, with which man can be blest; yet he was not gifted with inspiration: and without that, he could not have arrived at the truths contained in Rowley. And let him have forged volumes; yet he never composed these poems; nor the manuscripts, with which they are connected. It was impossible for him to have hit upon so many historical truths, without any history to direct him. How could he have any intelligence about the marriage designed for Canynge into the family of the Widevilles, concerning which there was no known history? Or of the cruel fine imposed upon him for his refusal, which was equally unknown? The same may be asked concerning any person, who may be substituted, as the author, in the room of Rowley. These evidences not only shew, who did not compose the poems; but point out, who did. They prove, that the intelligence came from Redcliffe Tower; and totally make void the notion of an imaginary third person. Rowley must have been apprised of Canynge's marriage. He lived at the time; and was interested in the affair: and it was from him, that the history was transmitted. The whole

has since been very fortunately authenticated, as I have shewn. The very article of king Edward being at Bristol in the year 1467 could hardly have been discovered by Chatterton; as it is, I believe, mentioned but by one historian. Indeed, he does not pretend to have known the year: nor is it anywhere specified by Rowley. Yet it has been verified by means of the Worcester register: and every circumstance about Canynge's ordination has been verified from thence. We have the like evidence about the burning of Redcliffe spire. Rowley must have been in some degree an eyewitness of the event: but Chatterton had no history of it; no record, excepting what must have come from Rowley. He could not have mentioned it without some previous intimation from that quarter: for no account was elsewhere to be had. This, like the two articles above, has since his death been attested, and by the same hand: by the testimony of William of Worcestre. If the manuscripts were forgeries by Chatterton, these histories must have been his invention: but we have seen them past contradiction certified; which could not have been the case, if they had been forgeries. They therefore cannot have been the mere flights of a boyish imagination, but are genuine historical truths.

And as he uniformly said, that he had them from Rowley, and as we cannot reasonably conceive any other means, it is absurd to ascribe them to any other person. If all those, who knew the young man, and have given their attestation to the antiquity of the poems, were to be warped in their principles, or to be found mistaken, or were even to retract their evidence; yet it would avail nothing against these proofs. We may proceed upon the same principle in respect to the Temple church, which was said to have been so badly constructed by the first builder, that it subsided, and bulged. But a better architect preserved it, by laying a stronger basis, founded on piles. If this account were a forgery by Chatterton, it could never have been by any means authenticated: but we find that it was * verified in the year 1774, about four years after his death.

* This evidence was obtained from some overseers and workmen, who were employed in repairing the gates leading to the Temple church-yard. They had not ocular demonstration of the piles, the water came in so fast upon them: but in digging they came to the foundation abovementioned; which consisted of an enormous mass of stone over a watery swamp. Now the greater the mass, the more need there was for a secondary support: and in such a situation no other support, but piles, can be well conceived. For this, and much other intelligence, I am indebted to Mr. George Catcott.

These are events, for which Chatterton had no voucher, if we do not allow him Rowley. But even those persons, and those events, which have collateral history for their confirmation, are often too obscure to be easily met with ; and could not come within the sphere of a boy's intelligence. We have seen, that he makes a soldier, who was later than Hubba the Dane, contemporary with Hengist ; and speaks of an Inca's fleet upon the coast of Calabar. Can we imagine such a novice to be an adept in the most remote, and secret parts of history ? It cannot be supposed. How could he know any thing of the Blue Briton, and Tinyan ? of Powisland, and Matraval ; and the history of Howel ap Jevah ? Add to these the numberless references and dark allusions, which continually present themselves to the reader in every part of Rowley.

Such is the evidence, with which these poems are attended. In the process of my enquiry I have brought accumulated proof of the Mss. having been seen, and acknowledged as authentic. I have mentioned the manner of their being carried away and secreted ; of their being afterwards copied ; and of the person, who transcribed them, being seen in the article of transcribing ; of their being uniformly attributed to the real

author, Rowley; concerning whom no doubts were ever entertained by the best judges, the people upon the spot, who were eye-witnesses to the facts, upon which my evidence is founded. Not the least suspicion prevailed; till scruples and difficulties arose at a distance. This external evidence is necessarily blended with the internal: and through the whole course of my enquiry I have endeavoured to prove, that these compositions required far more learning, than fell to the lot of the young man at Bristol. I have shewn, that he many times did not comprehend the purport of the lines, which he copied; and that he mistook the very characters, in which they were described; so that he substituted one word for another. This alone, I think, falls little short of demonstration, that the poems were by another hand. On this account I must recur to the proposition with which I set out, that every author must know his own meaning. And whoever brings a copy of a prior writing, and does not understand that writing, that person cannot be the author. In short, if a boy produces a reputable exercise, and cannot construe it, there is not an usher at a boarding-school, but will tell him, he did not make it.

AD ÆSTINGAM PUGNA.

DULCE solum, virtutum altrix, Brittannia mater,
Rite tuas laudes, tua munera carmine vates
Aggredior ; tritas ausus contemnere metas,
Et dare vela rati. Quid enim prius, inclyta, versu
Prosequar, Aonio tellus dignissima plectro,
Quam tua, quæ latas implent præconia gentes,
Heroum fœcunda parens ? At non mihi cuncta
Fas proferre palam ; superat quando omnia longe
Virtus clara virum, et per terras didita fama,
Egregios tantum liceat memorare labores,
Et quid ab externis perpeffa es viribus olim,
Heu, sævis luctata malis, Te, Roma, duello
Improba tentavit primum, cum ignota jaceres,
Septa diu tenebris, desertoque invia ponto.
Mox, ab Hyperboreis delatus sedibus, arma
Intulit accitus, Cronii maris accola, Saxo ;
Et diram exposuit Rhutupino in littore pubem,
Ille Caledonias acies, Pictumque ferocem,
Ferre jugum docuit : vetitisque excedere regnia
Jussit ; et in boream, nativæque frigora misit.
At tandem in socios ferro conversus et igni,
(Proh, temerata fides !) pestis crudelior ipse
Incubuit terris, et pulso immanior hoste ;
Subjectamque plagam vastavit perfidus armis.

Quis procerum infandas cædes, quis tristia passim
Exilia, et famulæ nescit suspiria plebis?

Mox, ubi compositis rediit concordia rebus,
Vix bene septenas passa est coalescere gentes
Saxonidum fortuna; novos cum infida tumultus
Concitat; ac terras iterum terit advena bello.

Quid referam Danorum acies, clademque nefandam,
Cimbrica cum primum tempestas appulit oris?
Ut gemuit dominos gens indignata superbos,
Dentibus infrendens frustra; frustra que rebelli
Excudere affectans onus haud tractabile collo?

Sic jacet infelix Brittannia, percita multo
Vulnere, barbarico tóties data præda furori.
Quod neque littoribus quæ circum plurima frendit
Unda, nec oppositæ poterant avertere cautes.

At non, arcano qui fœdere temperat orbem,
Dilectam tanto Deus in discrimine gentem
Deferit. Ultor adest Morinis Gulielmus ab oris;
Et cito vindicibus sternit vada falsa carinis,
Heroumque manu. Longum sit sancta per ævum
Illa dies, fastis nunquam reticenda Britannis,
Cum vix hostiles nostra in confinia turmas
Contulit; et justo meruit certamine regnum.

Nunc age, crudeles motus, odia aspera regum,
Eventusque graves referam: tótum ordine bellum,
Collatas acies, fœdamque in littore cladem,
Nunc aperire labor. Ventos in vota vocabat
Neustriadum detenta acies: quo tempore Haraldus,
Clarus avis, atavisque potens, sed crimine adeptus
Imperium, dubiâ Britonas ditio tenebat.
Magna viri virtus, spectataque dextera bello;
Sed mens fida parum: meritæ violentia famæ
Officit; et justas minuunt perjuria laudes.
Et licet haud alius magis in certamine notus,
Egregiusque manu; quem contra opponeret armis,
Invenit fortuna parem. Jamque acer et ardens
Cogit uterque viros. Gulielmum Neustria tellus
Ediderat; clarum meritis, et stirpe superbâ

Rollonidum;

Rollonidum : populus quem in regnum adsciverat ultro,
 Plebeiâ de matre nothum. Satis una, superque,
 Nobilitas visa est : quin conciliavit amorem
 Ingenium, virtusque, et miræ gratia formæ.
 Illum adeo patriis accitum * Edoardus ab oris
 Accipit, et gentis monstrat decora alta Britannæ ;
 Ingentesque animos miratus, posthuma ipondet
 Imperia, et sceptris hæredem nuncupat ultro.
 Nec tamen his obstat Godoëni martia proles,
 Jus patrium, et sanguis licet intercedat avitus ;
 Sed sceptrum et solium defert, regnumque futurum,
 Sponte aras adhibens, ipsumque in fœdera Numen.
 Vix tamen extincto iusta exequialia regi
 Anglia persolvit ; bello quando omnia turbat
 Perfidus, et sumptis regnum sibi vindicat armis.
 Continuo has fraudes cælo portenta sequuntur,
 Et vulgi attonitas terrent præfagia mentes.
 Deficit in primo lampas Titania cursu,
 Nec solita attingit fastigia. Luna laborat ;
 Fulguraque, et tristes minitantur dira Cometæ.
 Quodque animum regis turbat magis, ingruit oris
 Improba Norvegiæ glaciali a littore classis.
 Dumque hæret rerum confusus imagine princeps,
 Ancipitique malo ; vacuos sine milite campos
 Occupat, et flammis vastat late omnia prædo.
 Ergo alium Angligenis cursum, quanquam impedit ingens
 Implicitos propius belli mora, tendere suadet ;
 Præceditque viros. Humbri jamque alta fluent,
 Longum iter emensi, superant, vicinaque raptim
 Arva petunt : summisque vident in saltibus hostem.
 Nec mora, congressi longo in certamine pellunt ;
 Et temere effusos ipsa ad navalia pergunt
 Proterere ; et rapidis cogunt dare lintea ventis.
 Littore pacato sua per vestigia princeps
 Castra petit victor, collesque, ubi substitit hostis.
 Norvegiæ hic procures, ipsumque in pulvere regem

* Edvardus confessor, rex Anglorum.

Harvagrū videt ; et fūsum sine nomine vulgus ;
 Et, tela in patriam qui sustulit impia, Toston.
 Exuvias etiam ingentes, spolia ampla reportat,
 Spiculaque, et clypeos, gentisque insignia torques.

Interea nox atra subit ; tenebræque reducunt
 Maturam fessis requiem : jamque avia ruris
 Vasta silent. Fusus miles per castra sopori
 Indulget, belli satur, oblitusque laborum.
 At manus insomnis juvenum, pro more sub armis,
 Excubiis peragunt circum tentoria noctem.
 Cum subito in speculis, summisque in montibus, ignes
 Collucere procul cernunt : jamque altera tæda,
 Alteraque oppositis dirimit juga diffita flammis.
 Agnoscunt vigiles signum, trepidique tumultu
 Regem adeunt, certosque exponunt rite timores.
 Excitus a somno, tumuli fastigia princeps,
 Unde oculis longe pateat plaga subdita, prendit :
 Et frendens feritate, novus labor ingruit, inquit ;
 Ad majora vocor : bellum hic denunciat ignis,
 Externumque monet terras tetigisse tyrannum.
 Heu, rerum jam certa fides ! Me Neustrius armis
 Provocat absentem, finesque impune peragrat :
 Verum adero, et, trepide repetat sua littora, cogam,
 Sic ait ; atque aciem primò vix mane resectam
 Cogit, et instructo propere rapit agmine campum,
 Tertia jam tenebras cælo dimoverat Eos,
 Illuxitque dies ; coram cum nuncius adstat
 Spumanti prævectus equo ; remque ordine pandit,
 Advenisse ducem, et portus tetigisse Pevanos.

Est locus, Australis regio qua vergit in æquor,
 Anderidæ propter saltus, lucosque sonantes,
 Æstinga : indigenæ sic illum nomine dicunt.
 Huc fato delatæ acies, Jam pectore in omni
 Fervet martis amor, Pubes Normannica cælo
 Fundit rite preces ; et votis æthera complet.
 Non ita Saxonidæ, et morti devota juvenus.
 Dum tenebræ campo prohibent concurrere, vertunt
 Pocula, et insano producunt tempora lusu ;

Multum

Multum execrantes noctem : quos nox tamen una
 Longa manet, tristisque, nec interitura per ævum.
 Postera cum sparfit montana cacumina luce
 Orta dies, aciem desertis ducit Haraldus
 Fervidus e castris, et spe festinat in hostem.
 Ite, ait, egregii Juvenes ; sociique laborum,
 Quos avidè amplector summa in discrimina, nunquam
 Expertus bello indecores : defendite laudes,
 Et patrium servate decus. Me, me duce, tela
 Corripite ; implicitos quos improbus advena bello
 Sollicitat, proprio non ausus fidere marti.
 Ite, agite, imbellem detrudite finibus hostem.
 Sic ait, armatosque jubet procedere campo
 Saxonidas, Danosque, et durum marte Britannum.
 Illum adeo ex omni pubes regione secuta,
 Flos virtusque virum cingit, quos pristina tollit
 Gloria ; et arctoò spectatum in littore robur.
 Quin focii, et reditu raptim conscripta juvenus ;
 Agrestes animi, durisque exercita proles.

Jure suo ante alios primam gens inclyta frontem
 Cantiaca explicuit : meritis situs iste locorum
 Omnibus in bellis longo concessus ab ævo.
 Hic firmi expectant hostem ; validisque securim
 Ancipitem manibus sæva inter prælia librant
 Cominus, et duro turbant late agmina ferro.
 Dextram aciem occiduae fortis tenet incola terræ ;
 Dammoniae qui rura colunt : quos Cestria mittit ;
 Cambriaque, et pelago tellus circumflua Monæ.
 At procul in lævâ Boreæ de gente profecti ;
 Qui Diræ ingentes saltus ; qui Mercia regna ;
 Icenamque tenent : dulcis qui flumina Lindi,
 Qui Thamesina bibunt : superi quos alluit æstu
 Unda freti ; quosque inferius mare limite claudit.
 Stant alacres, fixique gradum statione tuentur,
 Formidanda acies. Complent media agmina Dani,
 Sæva manus. Flavos possis dignoscere crines,
 Discordesque sonos vocum : pro tegmine gestant
 Loricam, confertam hamis ; manibusque coruscant

Saxonidum

Saxonidum in morem falcatos cominus enses ;
 Ferratamque rotant valido molimine clavam.

At parte adversâ stabant iusto ordine turmæ
 Neustriadum. Huc fortes submisit Gallia natos
 Subsidio, Gulielme, tuo. Venere feroces
 Armorici, Britonum, ut perhibent, animosa propago ;
 Nunc patrum obliti penitus : mars omnia miscet
 Scilicet ; atque odiis socialia fœdera solvit.
 Nec non magnanimam misit Burgundia prolem.
 Lexovii venere truces : Sylvæ accola venit
 Horridus Ardennæ Rhemus, nemora avia durus
 Qui colit, et Batavus felix regnator aquarum.
 Quin manus irriguis Sequanæ contermina ripis ;
 Qui Samaram, et modico properantem flumine Scaldim
 Haurit ; et oceanum solers transmittere Belga.
 Ante alios longe coeunt, procera juvenus,
 Neustriadæ, atque arcus vasto curvamine flectunt.
 Quinetiam in stabili miles certamine clarus ;
 Ferratæque equitum, visu mirabile, turmæ.
 Ænëus haud illis thorax satis esse videtur,
 Loricæque usus : coopertos circuit artus
 Armatura chalybs, et ductu flexilis ambit.
 Nulla manet pars nuda : pedes, suræque, manusque,
 Tecta latent : demptoque viro jam spirat imago
 Ferrea : totum habilis circumdat lamina corpus.
 Armât equos eadem ; ferratâ fronte minantur :
 Securosque equites bellorum in turbine portant,
 Spicula ridentes, et cassas sanguine plagas.
 Ipsi non jaculis certant ; celerive sagittâ
 Eminus incendunt pugnâs : ingentibus instant
 Ensibus, aut magno protrudunt agmina conto.

Interea oppositas dirimit parva area turmas
 Amborum ; et pugnæ rauco ter buccina cantu
 Signa dedit : sequitur sublatu ad æthera clamor.
 Pressa gemit subter tellus : pulsuque sonoro
 Cornipidum concussa tremit. Nondum impius ensis
 Vaginâ eripitur : stridet lethalis arundo,
 Spiculaque hostilem gustant præmissa cruorem.

Dumque

Dumque ea missilibus longe præludia tentant;
 Atra subit nubes, et opaco pulvere terram
 Densa tegit: rupto tandem seu turbine, telis
 Confligunt, propiusque invadunt obvia ferro.
 Hic Belgæ Morinique ruunt: hic imminet atrox
 Armoricus. Tentant aciem perfringere, siquâ
 Ostendat fortuna viam; frustra laborant
 Explorare aditus. Labor undique tristis, et omne
 Telorum interea sævit genus. Ingruit imber
 Ferreus in campis, adversaque verberat ora.
 Sic Britones belli nubem, dum detonat, omnem
 Sustainant virtute diu. Jam Neustria turmas
 Submittit, durique instaurant prælia Galli.
 Hi laxi, sparsique ruunt: sed Neustria pubem
 In densos cogit cuneos; perque arma, per hostes,
 Quærit iter; rapidis equitum comitantibus alis.
 Necdum intus penetrare datur. Stat dura Britannum
 Inconcussa acies: stat nusquam pervia bello.
 Ter sese objiciunt equites, totiesque repulsi
 Nequicquam remeant, refluxo velut æquor ab æstu.
 Continuo egregias Gulielmus pectore fraudes
 Concipit: ipse suos paulatim cedere campo
 Edocet: ipse celer laxatis fertur habenis,
 Et dat terga fugæ, fictâ formidine, ductor.
 Irrumpunt Britones, campum ut videre patentem,
 Aversumque premunt hostem: quin instat Haraldus,
 Telorumque ferox fugientes nube laceffit.
 Nec miser insidias sentit, fictumque timorem,
 Erroremve videt; donec nullo ordine fusos
 Accipiunt latebræ, fraudique accommoda vallis;
 Et juga continuis includunt collibus agmen.
 Tum rerum manifesta fides. Stupet ipse tyrannus,
 Horrescitque videns, quo se nimis impulit ardens
 Impetus, et dubiæ fallax fiducia pugnæ.
 Heu, nusquam patet aufugium: latera ardua utrinque
 Præmissi stipant equites, summisque frequenter
 Confedere jugis: pedites a fronte minantur,
 Converterique armis proturbant eminus hostem.

Atque

Atque ea Rollonidum cernens procedere princeps,
 Ipse aditus, quæ jam superest via sola salutis,
 Occupat, et fauces numerofo milite complet.
 Jamque ensis fine more furit; lateque per artus
 Irrevocandus abit: media in præcordia rumpit
 Fervidus; exoritur, visu miserabile, cædes.
 Neustriades exultat ovans; ultroque feroces
 Incitat. Haud pugnâ, nec apertis cernitur armis;
 Sed pecudum ritu jugulant. Furit irrita virtus,
 Luctaturque aperire viam: non arma movendi
 Luctanti locus est, stipataque membra teruntur.
 Missile non cursum peragit sine sanguine: nulla
 Spicula cæde vacant; nusquam non certa sagitta.
 Nitentes alius supera ad fastigia collis
 Adverso prosternit equo: collisa fatiscunt
 Pectora: sanguineo volvuntur corpora campo.

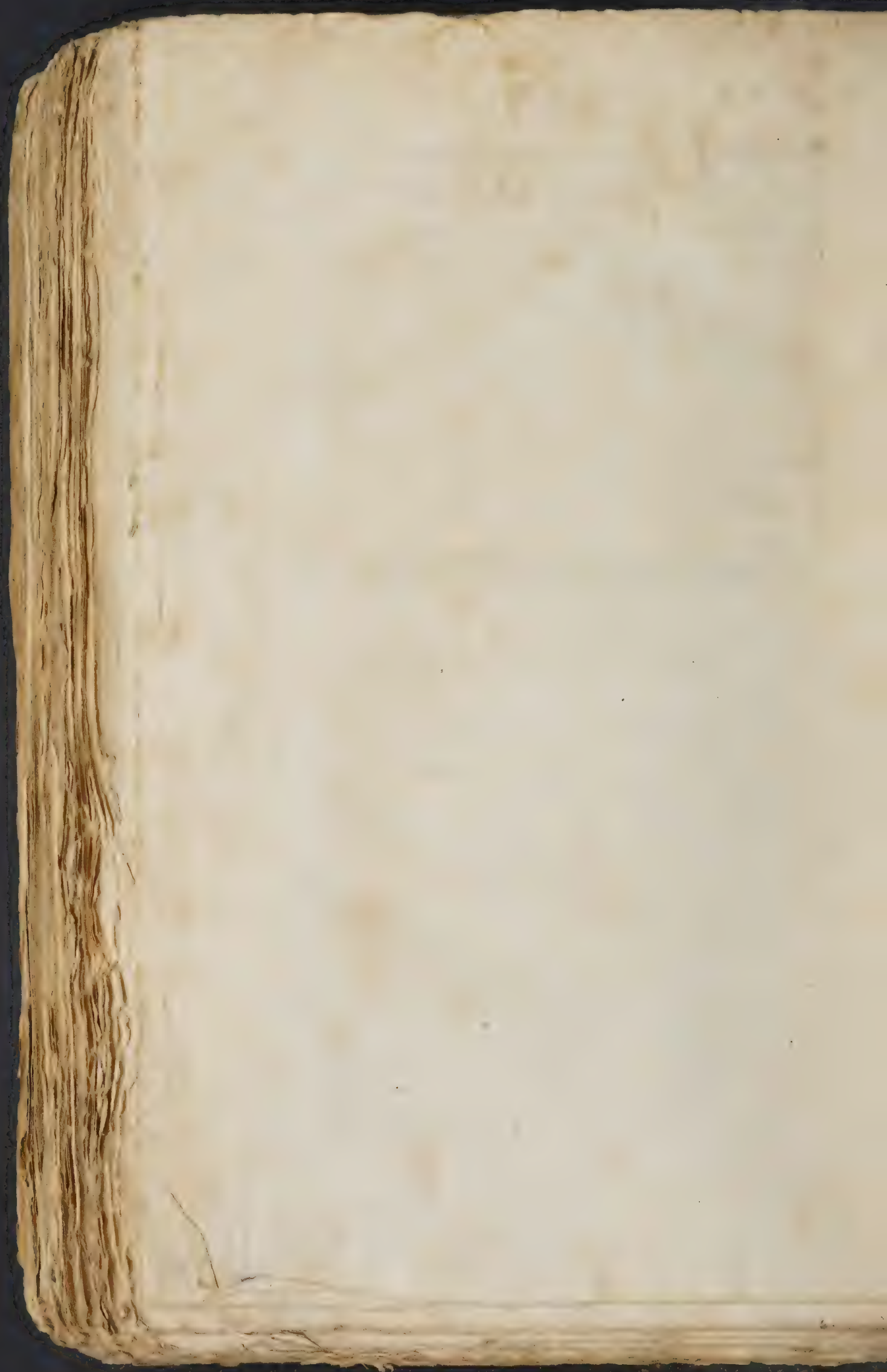
At non magnanimus timide succumbit Haraldus,
 Inclinatâ acie: fatisque prementibus instat
 Acrior, ut parili reparet dispendia clade.
 Circumstat dilecta manus, regemque tuetur,
 Dum fortuna finit. Quoquo se turbidus infert,
 Agglomerant, parmisque tegunt. Illum eminus horrent
 Neustriadæ. Spectant oculos, vultumque minacem,
 Nec sufferre valent: ardent fera lumina flammis.
 Ille ferox frendit, spatio conclusus iniquo,
 Horrendumque fremit. Campum moriturus honestum
 Exposcit: dignamque aperit virtute palæstram.

Quis cladem illius pugnæ, quis funera fando
 Expediat; regisve exæquet carmine laudes?
 Ille volat, ferroque viam sibi pandit eunti:
 Dumque per oppositas acies ruit, arma virosque
 Semineces proculcat humi: tremefacta recedunt
 Agmina, et oppositæ referunt vestigia turmæ.
 Nunc Batavum proturbat equo: nunc arduus ense
 Belgas terret agens. Forte adfuit inclytus armis
 Rollonidum egregio Juvenis de sanguine Perses.
 Dumque procul sese princeps temerarius infert,
 Incautusque furit; subit ille, et poplite flexo,

Pectora

Pectora cornipedis longâ transverberat hastâ.
 Corruit in vulnus sonipes; super ipse secutus,
 Cernuus in terram rex volvitur. Ocyus hostes
 Incurfant jaculis, vastâque indagine claudunt.
 Circumstant propere focii, regemque tumultu
 Implicitum tellure levant. Fremit ille cruore
 Terribilis, sævisque iterum sese ingerit hastis.
 Proxima quæque metit gladio; lateque repente
 Per campum via facta patet. Nemo audet adire
 Cominus, aut tantas in se convertere vires.
 Missilibus tantum certant, longisque sarissis,
 Deturbare virum. Multos reverentia tangit,
 Debilitatque manus: spectant opera ardua regis
 Attoniti, propiusque timent accedere telis.
 Horrida majestas terret; truculentaque imago,
 Et sonus, et species humano corpore major.
 At non ipse diu patitur languescere corda:
 Nulla mora est: iterum erumpit, ferroque laceffit
 Agmina: sed sævis procedere longius iris
 Haud fortuna finit. Dumque instat fervidus ense,
 Necdum animum explevit tumidum cruor; ecce, sagit-
 tam

Fortunata manus promit, nervoque reducto
 Explicat. Illa abit, et celeri cava tempora lapsu
 Trajicit, atque imo penitus sedet acta cerebro.
 Corruit, et casu Godoëni martia eodem
 Procumbit cum stirpe domus. Vis Anglica passim
 Interit, et cæsum cingit vasto agmine regem.
 Tristis ubique pavor. Pauci per devia ruris,
 Quod superest, trepide fugiunt, et tuta capeffunt,
 Reliquiæ belli miseræ, quibus hasta pepercit.



ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

P. 132. *H*APPIE *manne be's dole!* I forgot to mention, that this expression, however irregular it may appear, is to be found more than once in Shakespeare. The transcriber was in some degree acquainted with this writer; and by his authority, I imagine, he was led to alter the original reading to the prejudice of the verse. What the true reading was may be known from the nature of the verse; and also from the authority of Rowley himself, who makes use of it in another place.

He'll wyngge to heavn wyth kynne, and happie bee
hys dolle.

Epitaph upon Rob. Canynge, p. 278. l. 4.

P. 178. I have taken notice of several histories concerning the landing of the Danes at Portlac, Watchet, and other places upon the western coast of England; and of their being particularly opposed by the people of Somersetshire. Among other inroads, one is mentioned as happening about the year 918; when they were driven into a pearruc or inclosure after having been defeated at Watchet. I expressed my doubts, whether this could be the action which is recorded by Rowley. It is however certain, that there exists a manuscript account from Turgott concerning this affair, of which I was not at that time apprised. In this is mentioned, that Ælla was warden of Bristol Castle about the year DCCCCXX: that the Danes then landed at Watchet: and that they were repulsed by Ælla, who in the engagement lost his life. This account differs but little from that given in the Saxon chronicle: where the landing of the Danes at Portlac and Watchet in the reign of Edward the Elder,

is so particularly * specified. If this be the transaction referred to by Rowley (and there is a wonderful coincidence of circumstances) it is a full century earlier, than I have supposed it. As to the difference of two years, it is not considerable; and may have arisen from an error in † transcribing: or the transactions, which are limited in the chronicle to a year, may have exceeded the term, to which they were referred. At all rates the history of the hero in the play seems to have been founded in truth, though varied and embellished by the Poet's fancy. I thought proper to submit this intelligence to the Reader; that he, may compare these evidences, and form his judgment accordingly.

P. 179. I have intimated, that probably Parks, such as we have now, were not in use when Ælla is supposed to have flourished. They were however more ancient, than is commonly imagined; and undoubtedly in vogue among the Saxons. For several existed at the coming of the Normans, and are specified in Doomsday Book. There may therefore have been inclosures so called, and so constituted, for the reception of deer, even in the time of Ælla.

P. 256. I have expressed myself as if the ancient name of Durham, was rather Dunelm than Dunholm: but it was at times specified by all three names: and the last Dunholm is that which is principally made use of by the Author of the Saxon Chronicle, as may be seen, p. 208, l. 33. 233, l. 6. 195, l. 35: also in other places. Durham or Dirham, for so it was of old called, signifies the habitation of the Diræ, and related properly to the county. Dun-holm signifies Collis-Sylvestris, Nemorosus: a hill with woods. Dun-Elm, Collis Ulmorum, five mons Ulmetum; i. e. Elm-Hill. These two last appellations related solely to the place, or city.

P. 105.

† DCCCCXX for DCCCCXIIX.

P. 287.

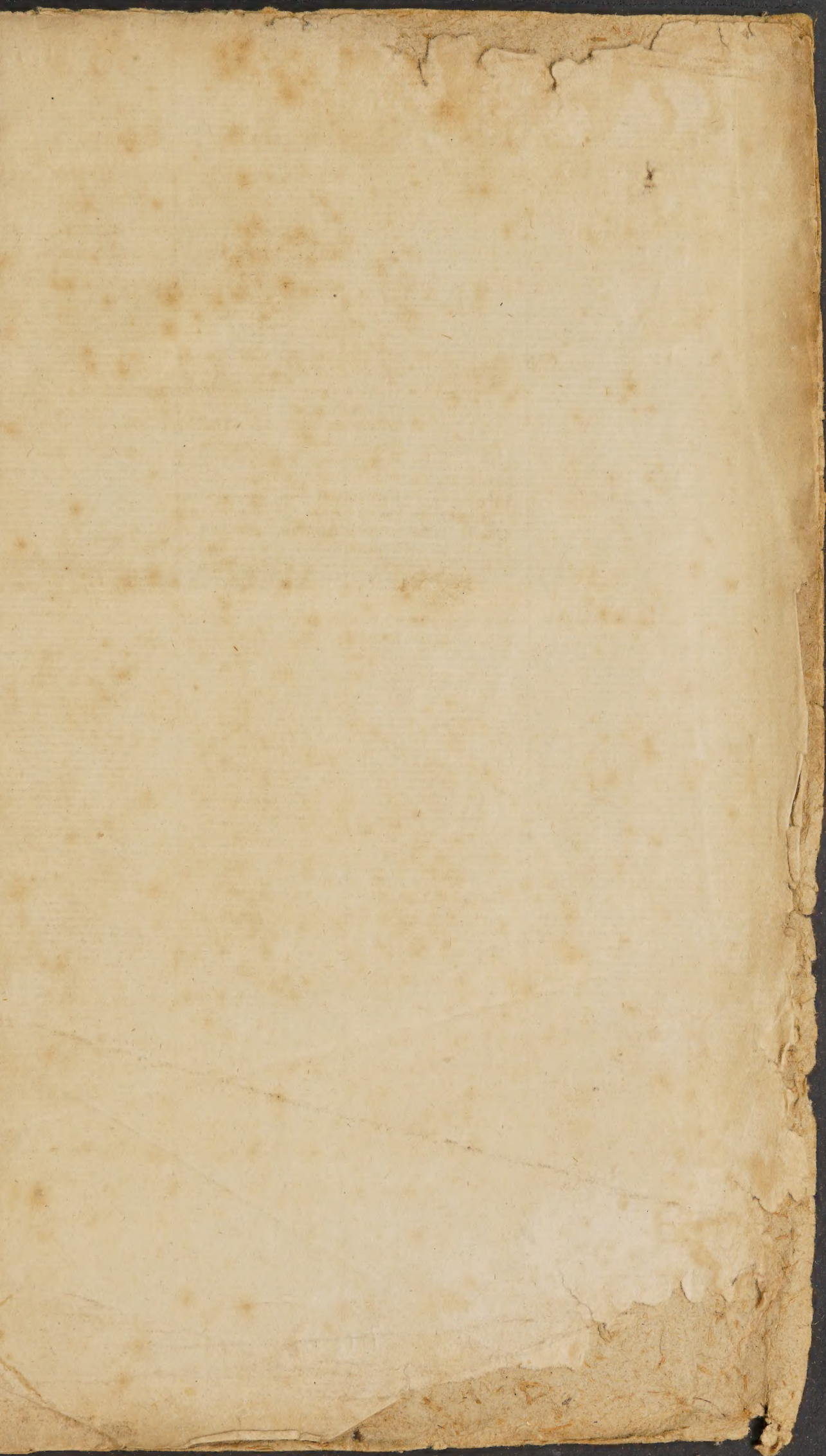
P. 287. In speaking of Dynefare, by the Welch expressed Dynevour, I have omitted to mention, that the ruins of this very ancient castle, and palace, still remain: and are situated in the estate of the late honourable George Rice. He was descended from the princes of South Wales: and Dynevour affords a title which is entailed upon the lady of the above gentleman, and upon her son after her, and which is to take place upon the death of her father the Right Honourable Earl Talbot.

P. 370. I have shewn how widely scattered the names of the Norman nobility appear to be, who are mentioned in the battle of Hastings. However we may find authorities for most of them, though they are not without much difficulty to be procured. The *Sieur de Bonnoboe* occurs in none of the lists, excepting in that of William Tayleur, as quoted by Holinshed: where I imagine it to be the same, which is expressed *Bonnobault*. But that there was such a Norman name, is more fully shewn from a person called *Boneboz*, who held lands under Henry the Second, as Duke of Normandy, at Bayeux. This may be seen in Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities considered*; and the circumstance is taken from the Red Book of the Exchequer, the title of which is this: *NORMANNIA. Infeudaciones Militum, qui debent servitia militaria Duci Normanniæ, &c.* The third Knight mentioned under the article *De Baiocasino*, is, *Robtus de Boneboz 1 mil. regi de 3 m. quos habet in Algar.* This was communicated to me by my friend Dr. Barford: of whose friendship I have had occasion to make mention more than once.

P. 400. I forgot to intimate, that there is a smaller Domesday Book; to which I had not opportunity of applying. It consists of 450 pages on vellum: and contains an account of three counties, omitted in the larger book: viz. Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

ERRATA. PART SECOND.

Page 307, l. 3,	for Warwilensem	—	read Warwicensem.
l. 13,	Hierosolymitarum	—	Hierosolymitanorum,
317, l. 5,	Herthisbiriom	—	Herthesbiriam,
337, l. 18,	the same county	—	Dorsetshire.
339, l. 15,	Gloustræ	—	Glocestræ.
341, l. 3,	eam	—	eum.
351, l. 4,	vi. 74	—	vii. 88.
351, l. 10,	viii.	—	vi.
368, l. 1,	Bartrammel	—	Bertramil.
377, l. 27,	hadam	—	hidam.
378, l. 1,	Sumerfetshire	—	Somerfetshire,
383, l. 7,	Summerfetshire	—	Somerfetshire.
384, l. 7,	213	—	214.
387, l. 22,	Gloucesterchire	—	Gloucestershire.
390, l. 9,	Euuardi	—	Eduuardi.
395, l. 11,	or Barons, <i>dele.</i>	—	
479, l. 4,	breathing	—	living.



11464

PR

3344

1878

1781

c. 1

C&P
AF

712041

